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Continuing The Historical Outlook

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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLII, NUMBER 4

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The Council of Europe: An Approach to European Unity

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Alexandria, Virginia

Plans for European unity are, at least, as old as Dante. Every century from the fourteenth on brought forth some design for European integration. While wars retarded the fruition of the idea, they accentuated the need. The past war was no exception, and in the underground and among the exiled leaders in London and elsewhere, the topic of European union was much bruited about.

It is not surprising, then, that after the war, organizations for the promotion of various types of European collaboration sprang up all over Europe. There were federalist groups, confederalist groups, functionalist groups—each convinced that through its method lay the greatest possibility for peace and well-being. Some idea of the extent of the interest can be gained from the fact that from February, 1947, to November, 1948, there were twelve international congresses on the subject of European unity.¹

Realizing that they must set an example of cooperation themselves, the various groups combined to form, late in 1947, the *Comité International de Coordination des Mouvements pour l'Unité Européenne*. It was this committee which organized the unofficial Congress of Europe at that city of hope, the Hague, in May, 1948. Over eight hundred delegates representing various European countries, differing political opinions, and diverse plans for European union, met and resolved, among other things, that a European Assembly should be convened immediately "to recommend to the governments appropriate measures for achieving European unity."²

The next move was to get this resolution to

the attention of some official body. This step was achieved with the help of the then French Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault, who brought the matter to the notice of the Brussels Treaty Permanent Commission. As a result, on October 26, 1948, this commission created a European Unity Committee to study all proposals for European union, including the Franco-Belgian suggestion for a European Assembly and the British suggestion for a European Ministerial Committee.³

The final decision to create a Council of Europe evolved as a compromise between these two diverse views. On January 28, 1949, the Brussels Treaty Consultative Council confirmed the agreement of the five Brussels Treaty countries on a European council and invited Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Italy and the Irish Republic to participate in the drafting of the constitutional text for the new regional body.⁴ The new statute was signed at a constituent conference of these ten nations on May 5, 1949.

THE STATUTE OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

As conceived by the drafters of the constitution, the Council of Europe is a single instrument with two main organs—a Committee of Ministers and a Consultative Assembly. The Committee of Ministers consists of the foreign ministers of the participating countries and the participating countries are, in addition to the original ten, those countries that accept the invitation of the Committee of Ministers. Eligible for membership is any European country willing and able to fulfill the aims of the organization:

to achieve a greater unity between its Members for the purpose of safeguarding and

realizing the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress.⁵

Excluded will be any nation that does not accept the principle of the rule of law and that does not permit the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all peoples within its borders.

Two types of membership are available, full membership and associate membership. The latter type was created, undoubtedly, with Germany in mind. It provides for those areas which do not have complete sovereignty, but are yet willing and able to participate in a European union. Such members will have representation only in the Consultative Assembly.⁶

The Committee of Ministers is the executive branch of the Council of Europe. Its function is to consider the action required to further the aims of the Council, including the conclusion of conventions or agreements, and the adoption by the governments of a common policy with regard to the matter recommended.⁷ Rarely is there a reference to the Committee of Ministers as the Upper House, but it is more truly so than is any current parliamentary body. It controls, in addition to the invitations to membership, the agenda of the Assembly, the purse strings for the whole organization, the Secretariat, and "with binding effect" all decisions (with a few exceptions) relating to the internal organization of the Council of Europe.⁸

Each member of the Committee of Ministers has only one vote, thereby preserving the principle of the equality of nations. In this organ, as in the Security Council of the United Nations, the problem of the veto has raised its head. On questions such as resolutions relating to the recommendations to the governments, on "statements of its activities" to the Consultative Assembly, and on a few more important questions, the vote must be unanimous.

Reference is frequently made to the Committee of Ministers as the governmental element of the Council of Europe. By implication, then, the Consultative Assembly must be the public element, although the systems for choosing delegates make the fulfillment of popular representation doubtful in some instances. For, according to the Statute, representatives are chosen by each Member State as it sees fit.⁹ This arrangement was the result of a compro-

mise arrived at in order to break a deadlock between the nations that favored a true European Assembly with delegates chosen directly by the European people—generally the continental countries—and the nations that wanted only a ministerial union—Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. This solution has, naturally, introduced a variety of methods of delegate selection. British representatives, for example, are appointed by the government after consultation with the opposition.¹⁰ France, on the other hand, elects its delegates in Parliament, the Council of the Republic electing six and the National Assembly electing twelve.¹¹

Representation in the Consultative Assembly varies from three to eighteen. The decision as to the number is made by the Committee of Ministers, which decides the matter on the basis of "population level and status."¹² Present representation is as follows:¹³

	each
Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany	18
Turkey	8
Sweden, Belgium, Netherlands, and Greece	6
Denmark, Norway, and the Irish Republic	4
Luxembourg, Iceland, and the Saar	3

Each representative within the Consultative Assembly has only one vote; and each delegate speaks and votes as an individual on his own responsibility. However, the drafters of the constitution saw to it that such freedom would not be harmful to the national interests of the Member States. For, as conceived in the Statute, the Consultative Assembly is simply a debating society. Furthermore, only those subjects approved by the Ministers may be included in the agenda. In addition, the Statute itself prohibits the discussion of the vital question of defense.

A Secretariat consisting of a Secretary-General, a Deputy Secretary-General and a staff has been provided. The two officials are nominated by the Committee of Ministers and appointed by the Consultative Assembly, but are "responsible to the Committee of Ministers for the work of the Secretariat."¹⁴ Among the services anticipated of the Secretariat is that of liaison between the two main organs.

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE IN ACTION

Strasbourg was chosen as the seat of the new organization for symbolic reasons, that city

having been for so many years the bone of contention between France and Germany. Unfortunately, the dogs of war do not seem to have buried the bone deeply enough, for the Council of Europe, in practice, has demonstrated that there are still many differences to be reconciled before European unity is an actuality.

Two main conflicts are in evidence. One is the difference existing between the various countries as to the best method of implementing union; this disagreement is a continuum of the disparity in views noticeable at the Congress of Europe. The other difference is the one existing between the Committee of Ministers and the Consultative Assembly. It, too, grew out of the varying opinions as to the degree of power that should be given to any international authority.

The first session of the Consultative Assembly met on August 10, 1949, in Strasbourg. Procedural matters were barely under way before the question of greater political powers for the Consultative Assembly was brought to the fore. Two vital subjects of debate in the first session were the changes necessary in the political structure of Europe,¹⁵ and ways and means of lessening the dollar gap.¹⁶ Both topics involved, naturally, the powers of the Council of Europe.

From the beginning many members pressed for a thorough revision of the Statute. The powers of the Assembly fell far short of those visualized by the Congress of Europe. Particularly annoying to the delegates to the Consultative Assembly was the fact that they were not consulted about the new members and that they had little, if any, control over their own agenda. Objection was also made to the absence of a Secretariat for the Assembly and to the determination of the Committee of Ministers to limit interim committee meetings of the Consultative Assembly to those of the Standing Committee only.¹⁷

During the first year, the Committee of Ministers resisted all efforts of the Consultative Assembly and its General Affairs Committee for a revision of the Statute. Nevertheless, concessions on several points were made informally. While continuing to retain responsibility, the Ministers agreed to discuss the question of new admissions with the Standing Com-

mittee before issuing invitations; and this procedure was followed in the invitations to Germany and to the Saar in March, 1950. On the question of the agenda, the Committee of Ministers agreed that they would not press their Statute rights. They further conceded the need of the Assembly for administrative help and recommended the appointment of a second Deputy Secretary-General to act as Chief of Administrative Services to the Consultative Assembly. A small concession was also made on the question of Consultative Assembly committee meetings, the Ministers agreeing that, in addition to the Standing Committee, the General Affairs Committee and the Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges might also meet between sessions.¹⁸ As a matter of fact, however, the Ministers were ignored on this point, the committees apparently meeting as they saw fit.

In March, 1950, in an effort to achieve some positive action, the General Affairs Committee of the Consultative Assembly suggested the formation of a joint executive committee consisting of members from both the Committee of Ministers and the Consultative Assembly.¹⁹ This idea was rejected by the Ministers, but they did agree to the formation of a joint consultative committee. There is to be, however, no vote in this committee; and while it should improve liaison between the two organs of the Council of Europe, it will give to the Consultative Assembly no additional power.

Receiving equal attention with the political questions of European union were the economic questions. Many motions were offered in the Assembly with the hope of lessening the dollar gap and improving European economic conditions. Referred to the Committee on Economic Questions of the Consultative Assembly for further study were such recommendations as: the creation of a multilateral system of payments; the coordination of steel production and investment; the development of permanent machinery for the coordination of credit policies; the extension of the work of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) for the promotion of European trade; the establishment of a European economic union; and the control of international cartels.²⁰

Unfortunately, for the accomplishment record of the Consultative Assembly, practically

every recommendation that was made in the economic field was already under study by some other group. If the Economic Committee for Europe were not studying the problem, then OEEC or the International Trade Organization was. Somewhat the same experience befell the other committees. In the social field, for instance, it was found that much work in which the Committee on Social Questions was interested, as for example, a Social Security Code, was already under consideration either by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization or the International Labor Organization. Inasmuch as it is a stated function of the Committee of Ministers to prevent duplication of effort, this overlapping was another cause of friction. Especially resented was the Committee of Ministers referral of the Assembly's economic recommendation to the OEEC. For it was because the delegates felt that the OEEC was not progressing as expeditiously as the need required that many of the motions in the Assembly were made. In fact, in its struggle for more power, the Consultative Assembly suggested that the OEEC report to it directly. The Committee of Ministers rejected this idea, holding that it would be inappropriate inasmuch as the OEEC was an official organ and the Consultative Assembly was not.²¹

Notwithstanding the proscription in the Statute against the discussion of defense, a good part of the debate in the second session, convened August 7, 1950, centered around this topic. This breach the Committee of Ministers brought upon itself, for its message to the Assembly asked that body to go on record in support of the position of the United Nations on the Korean situation. In the Declaration of Strasbourg, August 29, 1950, the Assembly did support the United Nations action in the Far East, but, aided and abetted by Winston Churchill, it used the resolution as an opening to discuss European security.²² As a result, the Consultative Assembly took a vote on August 11, 1950, on a resolution calling for the immediate creation of a united European army under the authority of a European Minister of Defense, subject to proper European democratic control and acting in full cooperation with the United States and Canada. The vote

on the resolution was 89 to 5 with 27 abstentions. In this debate, the world had a preview of the difference in Germany between the Christian Democrats and the Socialists on the question of rearmament, later more publicly indicated in the German state elections.

Despite the efforts at appeasement on the part of the Ministers, the feeling between the two main organs of the Council showed no indication of improvement during the early days of the second session. If there was one thing that the delegates agreed upon, it was that the Committee of Ministers had delayed progress toward European union. Maurice Edelman, a labor delegate from the United Kingdom, said that the message of the Committee of Ministers to the Consultative Assembly might have been a "trumpet blast" but turned out to be a "a toot on a penny whistle." A French delegate, Philip André, described the report as a record of the meetings of the Ministers in which there were to be found "neither ideas nor principles, neither any indication of what steps had already been taken, nor yet an analysis of what remained to be done."²³

Marked for specific criticism was the rule of unanimity in the Committee of Ministers. There were those who felt that the majority view of the foreign ministers was being thwarted by the British representative. Refuting this statement is one by Foreign Minister Bevin at the close of the second session of the Committee of Ministers to the effect that so unanimous were the decisions of the Ministers that "throughout the meetings the representatives of the twelve free Parliamentary democracies which belong to the Council did not have to take a single vote."²⁴ Nevertheless, several recommendations were offered in the Assembly with the hope of surmounting delay incident to the decisions of the Committee of Ministers. Among these were suggestions for the creation of a ministerial post for European affairs in the participating countries; for the reference back to the appropriate Committee of the Assembly of recommendations not approved by the Ministers, and for the modification of the veto.²⁵

At the end of three weeks of the second session, the Assembly rather abruptly broke

off its meetings to resume them after the Committee of Ministers had had an opportunity to consider the recommendations of the Assembly. One of the most vital of these was that the Statute be revised in order to permit the creation of specialized authorities in specific problem areas, so as to give the Council of Europe "limited functions but real power."²⁸ What they had in mind, in addition to a European army, were authorities in the field of transportation, agriculture, migrant workers, and other trans-European economic areas, such as Schuman had proposed for coal and steel production. In fact, it was the hope of many delegates that the Schuman Plan itself would be made a special authority under the aegis of the Council of Europe.²⁹ In their November, 1950, meeting, the Committee of Ministers agreed to the consideration of a revision of the Statute to permit the formation of the desired specialized authorities. The project is now under study. Count Sforza, a member of the Committee of Ministers, called this concession "a breach in the formulas by which the hopes of the European people were too tightly hemmed in."³⁰

AN APPRAISAL

What has the Council of Europe accomplished? One of its members lamented recently that it did not even have a postage stamp to show for its efforts. The statement would be amusing if it were not tragically true. With the exception of a few recommendations in the less controversial field of culture, few of the recommendations of the Consultative Assembly got beyond the Committee of Ministers to the Member States. The answer has already been partially given; that is, that the recommendations of the Committee of Ministers to the Member States must be by unanimous decisions, and there are differences of opinion among the various European countries as to just what degree of control may be let out of the hands of the governmental element of the Council of Europe.

There is every indication that the framers of the Statute of the Council of Europe had in mind a relatively docile body that would act as a sounding board for European unity. An ideal Assembly from the viewpoint of the Committee of Ministers would have been one which

would have played the role of the majority in the British Parliament to the Committee of Ministers' role of the British Cabinet. One of the delegates to the Assembly said that the drafters of the Statute had given the delegates an electric train but would not let them play with it. Perhaps a significant point was missed—the train was a toy one and even had the representatives been permitted to play with it, it would have gotten them only so far.

Still, it must be remembered that the Council of Europe was a compromise—possibly the best that could be had at the time. Economic relations within the various nations differ and, therefore, prompt varied reactions to economic solutions. Great Britain, for example, has to consider its relationships with its Commonwealth partners. As a British delegate stated it recently, there is little advantage from the British viewpoint of creating an economic union in Europe where the economy is competitive rather than complementary, if such a union would tear down the largest multilateral trade group in the world—the silver bloc.

Then, too, nations with planned economies, such as Great Britain and Sweden, are loathe to tie themselves too firmly to nations that have continued to pursue *laissez-faire*. One of the fears of the planned economy nations, to give one example, is that some of the continental nations in their efforts to ward off inflation will not press for full employment; in which case unemployment might be exported from these countries to those with planned economies, once migration barriers are down.

The picture, however, is anything but hopeless. It is differences, of course, that make news, especially in any organization designed for cooperation. Fortunately, the differences, while many, are not the whole story. Within the Consultative Assembly itself there seems to have been substantial agreement as to what was needed for Europe. The difficulty came in the method of filling the need; on almost every question there was a federalist viewpoint and a functionalist viewpoint. Despite the difference, a European spirit did shine through.

Another hopeful sign is the willingness of the Committee of Ministers to concede more power to the Assembly. The Council of Europe is a new venture, and caution is naturally

necessary. The Committee of Ministers, responsible to the governments, must protect those governments, else its members will no longer be members of the Foreign Service, nationalism being anything but dead. On the other hand, the Consultative Assembly, many of whose members feel an urgent need for European union, continues to press to overcome the cautious nationalists. Obvious of the danger inherent in the collapse of the Council of Europe, the Committee of Ministers is giving ground slowly. To what degree the proposed revisions of the Statute will satisfy the demands of the Assembly is, of course, a question of the future. Undoubtedly, it is the functionalists who have won out, but even the wise federalists admit that this is better than disunion or a return to the balance of power politics.

¹ *La Documentation Française*, N° .1.081,26 Février, 1949 IV.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ R.I.I.A. Information Dept. No. R. 1786, June 7, 1949, p. 5.

⁴ The French Embassy, Press and Information Division, *News From France*, Fifth Year—No. 5, p. 3.

⁵ *Statute of the Council of Europe*, Article I. (a).

⁶ *Ibid.*, Article 5 (a).

⁷ *Ibid.*, Article 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Articles 23, 38 (c), 37 (b), and 16 respectively

⁹ *Ibid.*, Article 25.

¹⁰ R.I.I.A., *op. cit.*, No. R 1786, p. 7. It is intended that varied political opinions from each nation be represented.

¹¹ *News From France*, *op. cit.*, p. 4; also French Embassy, Washington.

¹² The Council of Europe, *Explanatory Note*, Strasbourg, 1950, p. 8.

¹³ R.I.I.A., *op. cit.*, No. R. 1786, p. 7; also information from the embassies in Washington, D. C.

¹⁴ *Statute of the Council of Europe*, *op. cit.*, Article 37, (b).

¹⁵ The Council of Europe, *Agendas, Minutes of the Consultative Assembly*, First Session, p. 106; also Documents T and R.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Documents 28 to 55. Note especially Document 29.

¹⁷ R.I.I.A., No. R. 1994, Nov. 7, 1950, p. 5.

¹⁸ Cmd. 7838, p. 5.

¹⁹ R.I.I.A., No. R. 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁰ Council of Europe, *Compilation of Recommendations and Resolutions*, and Document No. 71; *Reports of the Committee on Economic Questions, Reports of the Consultative Assembly*, First Session, Part III, pp. 864-924.

²¹ R.I.I.A., No. R. 1994, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²² *Summary of the Debates in the Consultative Assembly*, Second Session, Vol. I. No. I, pp. 50-71.

²³ This is an amended version of a proposal by Winston Churchill. See *Summary of Debates*, Vol. I, No. I, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁶ R.I.I.A., No. R-1994, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3.

²⁷ The Council of Europe, Doc. AS (2) 74, para. 4; para. 6; para. 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Doc. AS (2) 121.

²⁹ *Summary of the Debates*, *op. cit.*, p. 17; also Council of Europe, AS (2) 132, and *Summary of Debates*, Vol. I, Nos. 2, 3, 4, p. 186.

³⁰ *The Times*, London, November 20, 1950.

Social Degeneration

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Trying to appraise American character has been the pursuit of observers from early American history to the present hour. The quarry has been elusive—at one time apparently in the bag, it has turned out to be far in the distance. The Frenchmen, de Crevecoeur and de Tocqueville, reported their observations with objectivity and not without sympathy. James Bryce, the most understanding of all our foreign critics, said, "When I first visited America eighteen years ago, I brought back a swarm of bold generalizations. Half of them were thrown overboard after a second visit in 1881. Of the half that remained, some were dropped into the Atlantic when I returned across it after a third visit in 1883-84, and al-

though the two later journeys gave birth to some new views, these views are fewer and more discreetly cautious than their departed sisters of 1870."

Count Herman Keyserling in his volume, "America" (1929), claiming to be strictly objective, quoted approvingly Dr. Carl G. Jung's psychopath of the American as "a European with the manners of a Negro and the soul of an Indian." Our own Henry Van Dyke in delivering a notable lecture before the Sorbonne sought to explain to Frenchmen what the American was like. Van Dyke, in defining the qualities and the spirit of America, described our economic life in terms of a many storied building with stairways leading to all floors and all doors

open, albeit the doorways seemed, at times, to be crowded. Henry Van Dyke, like others, felt it was possible to strike a common denominator in assessing American character. You will become as small as your controlling desire; as great as your dominant aspiration. You will receive what you earn, no more no less.

Efforts at self-appraisal, personal and social, have their appointed times. Without a doctor's diagnosis there can be no applied remedies; without a recognition of individual and social inadequacies there can be no educational or political program.

The American mood at present is one of pessimism and foreboding—possibly a temporary mood. To analyze that mood would be a major proposition, certainly a task not to be undertaken here. However, it is within the scope of possibility to observe the driftwood that floats down stream without accounting for the currents that lie beneath the surface. What are some of the conditions and qualities of character which make life seem so precarious at present? Prominent in the list is a decline in faith of all kinds. Present day philosophers, such as Professor Stace, maintain that religious faith has utterly collapsed and is non-existent. George Santayana, holding much the same view, took himself off to live the life of a hermit on a lone island in the Mediterranean.

Whether or not the prophets of doom are correct, no one would deny that the current of life is carrying along a heavy freight of ominous material. The philosophers of today need not be taken too seriously. In view of the departmentalizing of life and learning it is said that no philosopher since Spinoza (1632-77) could possibly set forth a coordinated comprehensive solution of the world problem.

But there are concrete conditions which the man in the street can see and comprehend. There has been a wide-spread surrender of personal responsibility in demanding security from the cradle to the grave. Professor William Lyon Phelps in one of his lighter, more whimsical interludes, entertained his students of Yale with an example of perfect security represented in the cow. Another example of perfect security is the prison cell. The inmate is guaranteed food and shelter and protection from within and without. But is there not always a

price tag attached to security? With the departure of faith and personal responsibility has gone the integrity of the home. Infidelity and divorce have gone hand in hand. Closely linked with the decline of the home is the alarming growth of juvenile crime and the increase of bestial crimes against juveniles.

The fact that half the inmates of hospitals are mental cases suggests that many of the maladjustments of current life are mental in their nature. Many years ago Charles E. Hughes as Governor of New York asserted that he was more interested in developing a good breed of men than in improving the breed of horses. He took his case to the people as he stumped the state from Montauk Point to Niagara Falls. A reluctant and politically-minded legislature had to enact a restrictive measure against horse racing and gambling. Now, once more, gambling syndicates have coiled their tentacles around the government in a new death grip. The fact that individuals with something besides a string of gelatine for a backbone can win moral victories for mankind was proved in the action of John Wanamaker as Postmaster General. It was Wanamaker who ordered that the use of the United States mails be denied to the Louisiana Lotteries system. The order proved to be the death knell to that huge octopus of fraud. Another social evil that comes in all the specious sophistry of communistic formula is the teaching of class hatred by labor union leaders. If the object of social living is solidarity born of sympathy, then the teaching of class hatred, however august the teacher, is anti-social. The method of propagating class hate should be recognized for what it is—a part of the Marxian dialectic. Marx borrowed the technique of revolution from Hegel's formula—Thesis, Antithesis and Synthesis. Hegel, please note, was a devout Christian and would have been horrified to find that his philosophy had been prostituted to the malign purposes of communism.

One way to gauge the state of social health is to observe the type of leader to whom the people render their suffrage. Birds of a feather flock together. The buying and selling of votes, however thinly disguised, is unquestionably an indication of moral and political sickness. Lord Macaulay, writing about America, said,

"Either some Caesar or Napoleon will take up the reins of government or your republic will be fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians engendered in your own country, by your own institutions."

Even before Macaulay made his rather direful prophecy Abraham Lincoln as a young man of twenty-nine issued a similar warning. Lincoln was addressing the Young Men's Lyceum in Springfield, Ill. on January 27, 1838. He said in the course of the address, "Is it unreasonable to expect that some man possessed of the loftiest genius, coupled with ambition sufficient to push it to its utmost stretch will at some time spring up among us? And when such a one does, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the government and laws, and generally intelligent, to successfully frustrate his designs."

Economic and moral collapse seem to have a strange affinity. The greatness of Athens did not result from rich natural resources. The soil was so poor and thin that it never sufficed to feed the population. Hence a mortal blow was struck at Athens when Sparta succeeded in shutting off the grain supply that came down from the lands bordering on the Black Sea. Possibly a primary cause for the decline of Athens arose when Pericles used the funds of the Delian League for general purposes within Athens. Likewise the decline of Rome began when the peasant farmers left the cultivating of their acres and repaired to the city, there to live on the spoils of war collected by conquering generals.

Theodore Mommsen closes his *History of Rome* with the following lines:

"We have reached the end of the Roman Republic. We have seen it rule for 500 years in Italy and in the countries on the Mediterranean; we have seen it brought to ruin in politics and morals, religion and literature, not through outward violence, but through inward decay, and thereby made room for the new monarchy of Caesar. There was in the world, as Caesar found it, much of the noble heritage of past centuries and an infinite amount of pomp and glory, but little spirit, still less taste, least of all true delight in life. It was indeed an old world, and the richly gifted patriotism of Caesar could not make it young again."

The listing of social ills can never be anything but fragmentary and illustrative. In the present instance the purpose is merely preliminary to an inquiry as to possible means of combating social decay. With all of the evil of the world conspiring to destroy civilization how and why does it survive? The success or failure of a system of government must, in the main, depend upon the character of the citizen. The good citizen must have two sets of qualities. He must have qualities that make for efficiency. Virtue which is dependent upon a sluggish circulation is not impressive. But efficiency must be guided and regulated by a moral sense.

Aristotle tells us that excellence is of two kinds—intellectual and moral; that intellectual excellence owes its birth and growth mainly to instruction, and so requires time and experience. Moral excellence is the result of habit or custom. Modern thought agrees with Aristotle that there is no such thing as an automatic social memory which transmits culture from one generation to another. In the Appalachian Mountains are groups of people who became stranded and sequestered. The arts of civilization and even literacy departed. Certain physical characteristics according to the Mendelian law survive the acquired characteristics of civilization. As Aristotle puts it, we learn an art by doing that which we wish to do. By doing just acts we become just. By doing acts of temperance and courage we become temperate and courageous. The illiterate mountain folks referred to illustrate both principles. Individuals lifted out of those backward communities and trained have assumed posts of leadership such as governors, judges and industrial leaders. The virtues and achievements of civilized life are not the gift of nature but nature gives the capacity for acquiring them and these in turn are developed by training. Aristotle himself, if he had been born into the Stone Age, would have followed the pattern of his compatriots, but he would probably have been the one to point the way to a better life.

The jungle approaches to the very edge of cultivated civil life and constantly threatens to engulf it but never quite succeeds. There are unheralded, unrecorded reserves of strength. Judge Harold Medina, in seeking relief from his nerve-racking ordeal in dealing

with the eleven communists, recounts some of his experiences in out-of-the-way places. For example, the operator of a trolley car leaves his post, grasps the hand of the jurist in mute respect. Much of the news that emanates from places like Hollywood and reaches the front page is the mere froth of life. The real battles for Kulturkampf do not make good headline news. In the full stream of life-experience, if we have eyes to see, we may catch a glimpse of the battles of the spirit. In these real battles of life we realize, even if dimly, that brute force alone in the march of civilization accomplishes nothing of permanent value.

Society always appears to be on the brink of disaster. The history of humanity, as of the individual, is the history of problems and the solving of them. It is now many years ago that Maitland, the accomplished English scholar, referred to society as a seamless web. Solving social problems in the effort to survive must be accomplished within the limits of the seamless web.

If it is true in politics that liberty can be maintained only through eternal vigilance it is also true that education is the major means whereby social degeneration is held in check. But all that passes under the title of education has not proved to be socializing or a preventive of degeneration. Like evolution it can work both ways, down as well as up. Still fresh in the minds of the world is the devastating fact that the most literate and most learned people the world ever knew proved themselves the most foolish and most cruel, the most destructive of their own and other peoples' happiness.

Those who advocate a body of knowledge that is purely scientific and deterministic overlook a fundamental fallacy, namely, that science itself is neither mischievous nor morally creative. Increasing man's power is no guarantee that the power will be used for moral purposes. Adolf Hitler turned out to be an insane, distorted symbol of a mentally ill society. The fact that half of the inmates in our hospitals are mentally ill suggests that, in the interest of national safety, we should take a sober look at national trends.

It is accepted as a truism in the study of politics that no nation voluntarily provides for its own demise. Regardless of that fact, nations rise and they perish for assignable causes.

Athens spent thousands of years in preparation for the brief hundred years that culminated in the burst of glory under Pericles. The flower suddenly faded and was crushed to earth though the fragrance still fills all the earth.

The portrayal of society as a seamless web is a comparison with limitations, but the figure does represent the inevitable interdependence of all peoples. It suggests the homely truth uttered by Ben Franklin in the Continental Congress, "Assuredly we must all hang together, or we shall hang separately," or as Kipling puts it in "The Gods of the Copybook Maxims":

We were living in trees when they met us.

They showed us each in turn That

Water would certainly wet us as Fire would certainly burn:

But we found them lacking in Uplift, Vision, and breadth of Mind,

So we left them to teach Gorillas while we followed the March of Mankind.

They denied that Wishes were horses: they denied that a Pig had wings,

So we worshipped the Gods of the Market

Who promised these beautiful things.

And the Gods of the Copybook Maxims said:

If you don't work you die."

Conceiving of life as a seamless web does not deny or minimize the importance of concrete information. It does imply that society is held together by something besides factual information, that is, a moral obligation to others. One of the completely forgotten books of Henry Drummond is *The Struggle for the Life of Others*. In this book Drummond sought to prove that the quality of sympathy has operated in the animal world from the first beginnings of animal life. Sympathy is the cement that holds society together. Sympathy and the allied virtues that travel in its company, such as self-discipline, self-regulation, or a sense of responsibility to others, are among the homely virtues that Kipling might well have included in "The Gods of The Copybook Maxims."

It was these homely virtues which in times past were set down as characteristic American ideals. The danger, now well recognized, is that they are slipping away. Is there some way in which they may be instilled anew? Are they intangible, fleeting by-products? Can they be

taught as one would teach how to do problems in square root? Good morals and good morale are characteristic of true democracy. They represent faith and belief for which men are willing to live and to die. They are active, dynamic qualities. But to analyze them is much like picking off the petals of a flower.

Possibly the best way to convey or transmit these qualities is the way Athenian citizens conveyed their love for The City of the Violet Crown. The men of Athens were not thinking of producing works of art but were living lives of strenuous activity in the city. Socrates did not occupy an endowed chair of philosophy. He was a mason or sculptor by trade and taught because he was interested in people and longed that they should know the truth. If someone had talked to an Athenian about academic freedom and a union of teachers and unionized strikes he would have said, "Poor man, something has happened to his mind."

One of Horace Mann's pupils tells of the impression the great teacher made in the classroom.

"A certain impersonal impulse he imparted to all who came in contact with him—the impetus with which his mind smote our minds, rousing us and kindling a heat of enthusiasm, as it were, by the very power of that spiritual percussion. It was in this that he was incomparable. A man might as well hope to dwell near the sun unmoved as not to glow when brought to feel his fervid love of truth and heartfelt zeal in its quest. The fresh delight of childhood seemed miraculously prolonged through his life: truth never palled upon his mind. The world never wore a sickly light. And his cheerful spirit, which was at bottom nothing but the most living faith in God and man, was so contagious, that indifference, misanthropy, despair of attaining the truth, gave way before it."

Such is the picture of the ideal teacher in a democracy. But one does not need to wear the toga of the teacher to be the purveyor of the ideals of democracy.

World History by Units for Secondary Schools

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TO THE TEACHER:

These units represent an endeavor to bring the essentials of World History into such a form as to make it possible to cover the field satisfactorily in one year. Each unit will consist of the following: specific aims, introduction, outline survey of unit, class activities, suggested home work activities. If the teacher so desires, the entire unit can be placed in the hands of the pupil in mimeographed form. Often this will save time as discussion can then proceed more swiftly from the outline and there will be less written work in class. On the other hand, there will be much that the teacher will wish to develop in class discussion after the reading has been done. At such times the pupils will not have the outline in their

hands but will use it afterwards as a quick summary and organization of the field.

At the beginning of each unit the teacher will want to create interest with the proper oral introduction and statement of aims so that pupils get a general idea of what to expect. At this time wall maps can be shown and available pictures posted on the bulletin board. This will naturally be followed by some text reading on the part of the pupil to provide a basis of discussion. If the text is large the teacher will indicate to the pupil what parts he should read and what to omit. The essentials of any omitted parts can be supplied by the teacher during later discussions. Some of the text can be read as class work, some as home work—as time permits.

The outline survey of the unit furnishes the *minimum* essentials. After the text has been read, the outline may be used in various ways:

Editor's Note: This is the first group of units in an eleven-unit outline for a one-year World History course for high schools. Other units will appear in succeeding issues.

as a basis of discussion, as a framework to develop more details, as a review for tests. Some methods are suggested under *class activities* in each unit. The teacher will think of others. If appropriate films, filmstrips, or slides are available they can profitably be shown. If such visual aids are not available there will be more class time for reports on outside readings. The teacher should make up and post a list of references available in the school library. Students can be encouraged to find other material in other libraries.

The suggested home work activities provide for individual differences. Some pupils will do more than others. A few will do none at all. The pupils should be encouraged to do as much of the home work activities as time permits. The amount of time pupils have for home work will vary in different school systems and in different localities. If the teacher so desires, some of these home work activities can be used as class activities, especially map making.

In every unit, wherever possible, the teacher should emphasize bearings on present day life and relationships to current affairs. It is my firm belief that much material included in world histories can safely be omitted. There are many details, the knowledge of which is not necessary in developing the needed understandings. These should be omitted and more time spent on the vital parts.

UNIT I. INTRODUCTION TO WORLD HISTORY; PRE-HISTORIC TIMES. 1 WEEK.

Specific Aims:

1. To give the pupils an understanding of the meaning and importance of history.
2. An understanding of the general field of world history.
3. An appreciation of the contributions of pre-historic man to civilization.

Introduction:

You are now beginning your study of World History. History is essentially the story of everything that has ever happened, the story of man's progress from earliest times through the present. World history, then, becomes the story of the entire world from its earliest beginnings. The field is large and you cannot hope to learn everything. But you must learn something of even the most ancient past for

otherwise you cannot hope to understand the present. This, then, is your most important reason for studying history—that you might be able to understand present-day affairs, present history; that you might be able to see how our present civilization grew out of the past.

History began about 4000 B.C., when man first learned to write. From that time forward written records trace for us the progress of civilization. The thousands, perhaps millions, of years before 4000 B.C. constitute what is known as pre-historic times. Sometimes this early age is referred to as the cave man era. This first unit of study deals with the pre-historic period. As you read the text you should make a list of the achievements of man during this early period. Pre-historic times may be divided into periods known as the Early Stone Age and the Late Stone Age. Perhaps you could list achievements for each age.

Outline Survey of Unit:

- I. Definition of History—see *Introduction* above.
- II. Reasons for the study of World History.
 - A. As a background for understanding and clarifying present events.
 - B. To see how present civilization and culture grew from earliest beginnings.
 - C. To profit from the mistakes of the past and so prevent future misunderstandings and possible wars.
 - D. To bring about knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of all races; more tolerance.
 - E. To aid in interpreting the social world; development of proper social attitudes; realization of world citizenship obligations.
 - F. To assist in finding one's place in the complex world of today.
- III. Brief Outline of World History.
 - A. Ancient History—from earliest beginnings to about 500 A.D.
 1. Cave Man Era
 2. Civilization begins—Egypt, Babylonia, Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia, Hittites, Persia
 3. Greece Helps Civilization
 4. Rome Aids Civilization
 - B. Medieval History—500-1500
 1. Barbarian invasions

2. The Medieval Church
3. Life in the Middle Ages—feudalism
4. Beginnings of Nations — Germany, France, England
5. Beginning of end of the Middle Ages —Crusades, Towns

C. Modern History—1500-19—

1. The Awakening—Renaissance, Reformation
2. National development and struggles for democracy
3. Growth of Nationalism and Imperialism
4. World Wars

IV. Contributions of Pre-historic man to Civilization.

A. Early Stone Age

1. Fire—cooking, warmth, protection
2. Development of speech
3. Sharp tools and other implements
4. Development of picture writing and art

B. Late Stone Age

1. Development of agriculture—plant seeds and raise crops
2. Domestication of animals — cattle, sheep, goats
3. Building of shelter, furniture, utensils of clay
4. Spinning and weaving
5. Trade, transportation, communication

Suggested Class Activities:

1. Pupils read in text.
2. Discussion and development of a good definition of history.
3. Discussion and development of chief reasons for the study of history.
4. Discussion and development of brief outline of World History.
5. Discussion and development of meaning and contributions of pre-historic times (cave man era).
6. Brief reports on any outside readings

Suggested Home Work Activities:

1. On an outline map of the world locate the oceans, the continents, 12 or 14 large rivers, 4 gulfs, 4 bays, 12 or 14 seas, 7 mountain ranges.
2. Read, as time permits, some of the references in the school library. Note the World History reading list now posted.

Consult also the public library and any other available libraries. Consult your text, at the close of chapters, for suggestions as to suitable books for supplementary reading.

UNIT II. CIVILIZATION BEGINS. 2 Weeks.

Specific Aims:

1. An understanding of the geography of the ancient world.
2. An understanding of where civilization began and why it began there.
3. An appreciation of the contributions made by various ancient groups to advancing civilization.

Introduction:

With the invention of writing, pre-historic man passed from the primitive to the civilized state. True, it was not civilization as we know it now—it was the beginning of civilization. In this unit you will learn how civilization first began among seven groups of pre-historic people, all located in or near a section of the world which we know as the Near East. Where is the Near East? Who were these people? Why did civilization start around the Near East rather than in some other part of the world? What did each of these seven groups contribute to civilization? These are the chief questions whose answers should come to you as you read the text.

Outline Survey of Unit:

I. Contributions of the Peoples.

A. Egypt

1. Skill in metal working and other hand trades—weaving, pottery, glass, jewelry
2. A calendar—years and months
3. Ideas in sculpture, architecture, mathematics, astronomy, medicine
4. Papyrus—phonetic writing
5. Pyramids—buildings of grandeur and massiveness
6. Doctrine of a future life
7. Beginnings of organized government
8. Improvement of agriculture—irrigation, machinery

B. Babylonia and Assyria—Tigris-Euphrates Valley

1. Skill in metal working and other hand trades
2. Calendar — weeks, hours, minutes, seconds

3. Ideas in mathematics, astronomy, and other sciences
4. Clay tablets
5. Hanging Gardens
6. First code of laws—Hammurapi
7. Measures of length, weight, capacity

C. Syria

1. Preserved the language of Jesus—Aramaic

D. Palestine—Hebrews

1. Idea of one God; the Old Testament

E. Phoenicia

1. Carried civilization—traders
2. Improved alphabet

F. Hittites

1. Use of iron in making weapons of war and tools
2. Fine buildings of stone
3. Transmitted culture to Europe

G. Persia

1. Organization of a great Empire and government
2. Good roads—first postal system

II. Key Words.

- A. Orient
- B. Occident
- C. Near East
- D. Far East
- E. Fertile Crescent
- F. "Gift of the Nile"
- G. "Delta"
- H. Memphis
- I. Thebes
- J. Pharaoh
- K. Rosetta Stone
- L. Papyrus
- M. Mummy
- N. Pyramid
- O. King Tut
- P. Hammurapi
- Q. Lost tribes of Israel
- R. Babylonian Captivity
- S. Nebuchadnezzar
- T. Polytheism
- U. Monotheism

Suggested Class Activities:

1. Map work locating the homes of the seven groups of people—Egypt, Babylonia, Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Hittites, Persia—and the three large rivers—Nile, Tigris, Euphrates. Locate also surrounding conti-

nents and bodies of water.

2. Pupils read text.
3. Discussion and development of a list of the contributions of each group to civilization.
4. Discussion of key words bringing out important facts in the life of the people.
5. Brief reports on any outside readings.

Suggested Home Work Activities:

1. Construct Egypt's social pyramid, showing the various classes of Egyptian society—king, nobles, priests, middle class, artisans, peasants, slaves.
2. Make an informational outline of *Egypt*, in the accepted form, using the following as Roman numerals:
 - I. Geography of Ancient Egypt
 - II. Political history
 - III. Religious history
 - IV. Economic history
 - V. Social history
 - VI. Educational history
 - VII. Art history
 - VIII. Contributions to civilization
3. Make a freehand map of ancient Egypt. (Do not attempt to make a western boundary.) Show the Nile, peninsula of Sinai, Mediterranean Sea, Red Sea, delta, Gizeh, Memphis, Thebes, Karnak.
4. Prepare short reports on the following topics:
 - Rosetta Stone
 - Papyrus
 - Mummies
 - Pyramids
 - King Tut
 - Hammurapi
 - Nebuchadnezzar
 - Hanging Gardens
5. Read some of the library readings, as time permits.

UNIT III. GREECE AND ROME FORWARD CIVILIZATION. 3 Weeks.

Specific Aims:

1. Understanding of how civilization gradually moved westward.
2. Understanding of who the Greeks and Romans were and how their empires grew.
3. Knowledge of the special contributions of Greece and Rome to civilization.
4. Understanding of the causes of the fall of Greece and Rome.

Introduction:

We have seen how civilization began with the various groups of people at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. Now we are to see how civilization gradually moved westward and became even more highly developed under the leadership of Greece and Rome. All the while civilization was developing in the Near East, barbarous tribes were pushing their flocks ever southward from northern Europe into the peninsulas of Greece and Italy. Here they conquered the natives, learned from the traders who came to their shores and built up a civilization all their own.

First it was the Greeks who stepped to the front by defeating the last of the early empires—the Persians. They expanded their power by establishing colonies around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Through Alexander, Greek power was extended eastward almost to India. They built up a civilization which surpassed anything before it. As we study this civilization we shall see how it lives today in our own in many ways.

The death of Alexander and the break-up of the empire he had built up left the Greeks an easy prey to their powerful neighbor on the west—the Romans. Conquering the Greeks and all the territory around the Mediterranean the Romans built up the greatest of all empires. But “captive Greece took captive her rude conqueror.” Rome did not destroy Greek civilization. Admiring it greatly, they spread it to all parts of the empire. We shall learn also of Rome’s own special contributions to civilization.

Finally we shall see how the great Roman empire weakened and decayed from within and became an easy prey to the Teutonic invaders pushing on the borders of the Roman empire. With the fall of Rome to these invaders, Ancient history comes to an end and Medieval history (the Middle Ages) begins.

Outline Survey of Unit:

GREECE

- I. Where the Greeks came from
 - A. The valley of the Danube
 - B. Region north of the Black Sea
- II. Effect of surroundings on Greek people
 - A. Bays and gulfs—produce seafaring people

- B. Mountains and bays—make Greeks a disunited people
- C. Mild climate—made Greeks an agricultural people
 - love of outdoor life and interest in athletics
- D. Beautiful scenery—developed love of beauty and genius for art

III. Government and politics in ancient Greece

- A. City-State—walled city and surrounding country—Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Corinth, Argos, Delphi, Olympia, Marathon
 1. Acropolis—hill for protection
 2. Agora—market place
- B. Changes in government
 1. King—monarchy
 2. Nobles—aristocracy or oligarchy
 3. Tyrant—dictatorship
 4. People—democracy

IV. Greek colonies

- A. Why Greeks left home—trade, adventure, free government, land
- B. Where they went
 1. Black Sea
 2. Around the Mediterranean

V. Persian Wars—Xerxes

- A. Cause—Greek colonies in Asia Minor were aided by Greece
- B. Three Attacks—Thermopylae, Marathon, Salamis
- C. Results
 1. Continued development of Greek civilization
 2. Continued development of democracy
 3. Inspiration to artists and writers

VI. Rivalry among the city-states

- A. Athens — Pericles — Golden Age of Greece
 1. Beauty — Parthenon, buildings, statues
 2. Democracy—pure, not representative
 3. Lack of democracy
 - a. Traders and business men have no part in government
 - b. Slaves—one third of population
 4. Home life—houses, clothing, lighting, food, education
- B. Sparta

1. Democratic governments overthrown—nobles rule
2. Contrast between Athens and Sparta
3. Taxes doubled

C. Thebes

VII. Life and Thought of the Greeks

A. Homer—the blind poet

1. The Iliad—story of the Trojan War
2. The Odyssey—story of the return of Odysseus (Ulysses)

B. Solon—code of written laws, new constitution

C. Religion and Myths—many Gods personifying forces of Nature

1. Olympian Council—meeting of Gods and Goddesses
2. Belief in future—Hades, Elysian Fields, Tartarus
3. Oracles—Delphi

D. Social classes—nobles, rich business men, skilled, unskilled, slaves

VIII. Greek Gifts to Civilization

A. Greek civilization

1. Beauty and art—Phidias
2. Architecture—Doric, Ionic, Corinthian columns
3. Language and literature—Homer, Herodotus, Demosthenes
4. Philosophers, teachers—Socrates, Plato, Aristotle
5. Science and medicine—Ptolemy, Euclid, Archimedes, Hippocrates

B. Beginnings of democracy

IX. Spread of Greek Civilization—Philip and Alexander

A. Alexander's conquests—trace out on map

B. Break-up of Alexander's empire

1. Macedonia and Greece—Europe
2. Syria—Asia
3. Egypt—Africa

C. Good results of Alexander's conquests

1. Founded model cities
2. Trade and commerce between Asia Minor and Greece
3. Spread Greek civilization and language and brought about mixture with Oriental civilization.

ROME

I. Government of early Roman republic

- A. Consuls
- B. Senate
- C. Assembly
- D. Tribunes
- E. Dictator

II. How Rome became an Empire

- A. Rome becomes mistress of Italy
- B. Carthage conquered
- C. Greek world conquered, piece by piece
- D. How Julius Caesar became the leader
- E. How Augustus Caesar became the Emperor

III. The Roman Empire at its Zenith—Augustus—the Golden Age—45 years

- A. Peace
- B. Sound money system
- C. Free trade
- D. New roads and aqueducts, temples and public buildings
- E. Encouraged writers—Virgil, Horace, Livy

IV. Later Emperors

- A. Tiberius Caesar—public career and crucifixion of Christ
- B. Vespasian—Jews dispersed—70 A.D.
- C. Titus—Vesuvius ruins Pompeii and Herculaneum
- D. Constantine—made Christianity the main religion
- E. Justinian—code of laws

V. Decline of Roman Empire

- A. No democracy—land owned by a few, many slaves, small business gone
- B. Decay of religion
- C. Weak emperors—"Barrack Emperors"
- D. Constantine builds new capital—divides the Empire
- E. Hired soldiers—German barbarians finally push into Empire

VI. Rome's Gifts to the World

- A. Preserved and spread Greek and Oriental civilization
- B. Spread Christianity—Roman peace and roads
- C. Practical arts—roads, aqueducts, buildings, arch
- D. Latin language
- E. Government—model for later usage
- F. Roman law—Justinian Code—foundation of legal systems of modern times

VII. Key Words

- A. Virgil
- B. Livy
- C. Forum
- D. Appian Way
- E. Trireme
- F. Quinquereme
- G. Proconsuls
- H. Publicans
- I. Gladiators
- J. Cicero
- K. Horace
- L. Pompeii
- M. Colosseum
- N. Aqueduct

Suggested Class Activities:

1. Pupils read text as time permits.
2. Map drill
3. Develop any parts of outline desired
4. Class discussions based upon outline of field.
5. Brief reports on outside readings, if any.
6. Related movies, filmstrips, or slides, if available.

Suggested Home Work Activities:

1. Make a map of the Greek empire. Show colonies, important cities, Alexander's conquests. Name, of course, all large rivers

and surrounding bodies of water.

2. Make a map of the Roman empire at its greatest extent. Locate important cities, bodies of water, mountains. Draw the boundary line around the empire and color lightly the land inside the boundary.
3. Read references from the library as time permits. See the posted list.
4. Prepare an outline of Greek Civilization using the following headings:
 - I. Literature
 - II. Science and Medicine
 - III. Teachers or Philosophers
 - IV. Architecture
 - V. Art
5. Prepare reports on any of the following topics:
 - Greek myths
 - Roman myths
 - Seven wonders of the ancient world
 - Athenian democracy
 - Any of the Greek leaders or artists mentioned in the outline
 - Any of the Roman leaders or artists
 - The Iliad
 - The Odyssey
 - The Parthenon
 - Pompeii

Democracy Begins in Progressive High School Classrooms

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Democracy postulates the immeasurable worth of each individual and, in its highest form, attempts his re-dignification by the full use of potentialities. This means that both his integrity as a human being and his availability as a citizen must remain untouched while, at the same time, he is held to account for his responsibility to the great association of which he is a member.

The resultant situation is sometimes referred to glibly as "liberty within the law," but this connotation hardly serves to elucidate further;

these expressions relate merely to different aspects of the people's power. *i.e.*, their ability to make law signifies only their original willingness so to voluntarily limit their own actions. Nevertheless a sacrifice of personal sovereignty has of necessity taken place and consequently eternal guardianship of the thin line between the collective will and the demands of vociferous minorities is all that can assure that this sublimation has not been futile. Indeed, the overt truth of such a proposition has been at no time clearer than it reveals itself in today's world conflict.

It becomes unnecessary, therefore, to state that, under democracy, education and the concept referred to above are only different faces of the same shield. However patent this may be, educational practice has frequently, if not usually, violated and even outraged this proposition. Moreover, there are still those who, and well within their own personal honesty too, argue that the objectives of democracy are being accomplished through traditional, even authoritarian, methods and that there is neither need nor reason for disturbing the beautiful *status quo* of educational technique.

Thus, the development of any thesis concerning the efficiency of democratizing education, or educating democratically revolves around methods of teaching as well as around the personnel and subject matter chosen for this achievement.

At least six curriculum plans have been devised and are in operation at the present time. They include (1) the traditional subject plan; (2) correlated curricula; (3) methods of fusion; (4) broad-fields curricula; (5) core curricula; and (6) types of "experience" curricula. Obviously, we are here concerned with methods other than (1), the traditional subject plan traditionally taught with its lock-step of pages to be memorized and "facts" to be assimilated; indeed, very little demonstration is required to establish the autocracy of such a device in which "*alles kommt von oben*."

It is not to be assumed that the statement of implication of substantial merit to plans other than the traditional subject matter presentation will be accepted without empirical or statistical proof. Furthermore, such proof data may conceivably hold within itself room for error as well as the potentiality for overdraw-ing basic conclusions.

The modern conception of education places the needs and interests of the educand in the position of paramount concern. Thus, it is easily seen that the motivating core around which adult education is built must differ greatly from that conditioning education for adolescents. And so the question of method and plan becomes altogether essential.

Since our concern in this study is with secondary education, the demands and desires of adolescents must be plumbed. In this connection a summary of the typical focal points in

the concerns of adolescents as released by the Commission of Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association, is, in part, submitted.

Six areas comprise the ground covered by this summary: (1) Establishing Personal Relationships; (2) Establishing Independence; (3) Understanding Human Behavior; (4) Establishing Self in Society; (5) Normality; and (6) Understanding the Universe.¹

As an example of the personal nature of these concerns the following points from "Establishing Personal Relationships," are here listed:²

Concerns about Fundamental or Superficial Mores

1. Good taste in manners appropriate to the group
2. Money to spend on dates—how much—by girls
3. How late to stay out
4. Chaperonage—whether to break up the party by leaving at parents request
5. Inviting others into the house
6. Smoking, riding in cars, petting, sex discussions, (both boys and girls)
7. Feeling of possessiveness after a few dates
8. Amount of initiative girls should take
9. Standards set by movie going

Yearning for Understanding Friendships

1. Longing for more friends of own age
2. Longing for popularity—techniques to attain
3. Wish for friends acceptable to the crowd
4. Surprise over disagreements or failure of friend to sustain ideal
5. Wish for friendship with an adult; companionable, not domineering, but secure

With Other Sex

1. Making transition to heterosexual interest
2. Techniques of approach to other sex—desire for charm

With Own Sex

1. Bases of friendship—content of experience
2. Understanding of the homosexual phase

Confusions Arising from Different Standards in Society

1. Home: Relations of parents often disillusioning
2. School: Inconsistencies of teachers and mates
3. Church: Deferred values

4. The Street

5. Gang: Allegiance to gang despite personal distastes

6. Movies: Standards of personal relationships set

Problems in Achieving Successful Marriage

1. Attracting a mate

2. Length of time one should know proposed mate

3. Health problems involved in marriage

4. Religion as an important factor

5. Bases for selecting a mate

6. Age for marriage—minimum—discrepancies

7. Income necessary for marriage—girl working

8. Relation of past sex experiences to success in marriage

9. Responsibilities of married life

10. Sex life in marriage

Without further comment and without attachment of materials from the five other bases of the survey it is quite clear that the adolescent world is one in which intensely important experiences and decisions are found; these condition the individual's personality throughout life. Since this life is to be lived in a democracy under democratic procedures, it appears essential that democratic procedures should obtain also during the educating period.

In 1932, under the auspices of the Progressive Education Association, a study of the potentialities of a program of extremely "democratic-individualistic" type was begun. Thirty schools, which were to participate in the experiment, were selected and three years were spent in reconstructing their curricula. Colleges were requested to accept the graduates of these schools under a waiver of their usual entrance requirements between the years 1936-1941; comparisons were to be made between the success achieved in college by these graduates and those from orthodox program schools.

Obviously, the thesis which we have attempted to develop up to now, *that democratic and individualistic education procedures based on personality and a respect for the dignity of the individual should lead to the development of a well-adjusted, competent and responsible citizenry*, was the overall objective of this experiment.

The basis for admission to the 250 colleges and universities agreeing to waive the usual admission requirements was solely the incoming student's high school record as reported in great detail by the secondary school principal; the emphasis in this report was on those areas frequently considered by the traditional school as "extracurricular." It included a "careful history of the student's school activities, life and interests, and the results of various types of examinations and scores on scholastic, aptitude, and other diagnostic tests given him throughout this course in secondary school."

The program or curriculum in each of the thirty schools differed, as logically, if the original premise is considered sound, it might be expected to do. The curricula varied from the correlated to the experience type although the tendency was to establish a general core around which concomitant learnings and experience took place. The important point was, however, that the traditional subject matter approach and even "requirements" were jettisoned in the interests of providing "democratic," individualistic, and student-interested areas for study, together with opportunity for practical participation in the democratic processes. As examples of the latitude with which this idea was interpreted, schools built curricula around cores such as "Social Living"; one school gave a high school course in Chinese Art; another placed boys and girls of adolescent age on different floors to overcome the confusion and "embarrassment" of developing puberty (they were, however, allowed to mingle as they chose at stated intervals); and one large school system called in the aid of psychology and psychiatry specialists in its effort to satisfy the needs of its adolescent population.³

The evaluation of such programs rested upon a "comparison of 1500 graduates of the experimental schools with the graduates of traditional schools which prescribed a definite number of units of credit in specified courses for recommendation for entrance to college." In so far as possible doubles, indeed *Doppelgängers*, were selected for each student so to be evaluated. These had attended traditional schools but otherwise matched the experimentees in sex, age, scholastic aptitude, vocational preference, and home and community background.

Dr. W. M. Aiken, chairman of the study, reports in *The Story of the Eight-Year Study* these results:⁴

- (1) There was a small statistical advantage in the success ratings of the graduates of the thirty schools . . .
- (2) Students from six of the thirty schools which conducted the most revolutionary program did substantially better . . .
- (3) Forty-six students, with nothing higher than ninth grade mathematics, did better in all subjects . . .
- (4) There is no discoverable relationship between the pattern of subjects taken in high school and success in college.
- (5) The importance of "guidance" . . . is enhanced.
- (6) Competence in the use of the English language in reading, speaking, and writing is an absolute essential for the satisfactory handling of college and university work. (The traditional high school English course has seldom developed this ability to a degree commensurate to the predicting of success in college).

To dispose of these conclusions in the order given, it is clear that only a "small statistical advantage" represents a trend which *can* reflect upon the merit of the experience to which these students had been committed. It certainly suggests a superiority of the informal curriculum over the subject matter approach. "Success in College" was defined as all-around success in social as well as athletic and scholastic activities, but even when scholarship was considered separately the experimentees held their slight advantage. It is not possible to get around this conclusion except on other than direct inference.

The fact that, as stated in the second of the conclusions, students from six unorthodox schools, surpassed substantially, serves unquestionably to buttress the first observation above.

While the case of the forty-six students who "jumped" from ninth grade mathematics into college courses and with considerable success is startling, it *can* be disposed of on grounds that will be outlined in the general criticism.

Likewise (4) above seems to establish a whole new concept of what the American High

School should *do* rather than what it should *teach* although it might be unwise to attach too much importance to only one study.

Guidance has been recognized for what it apparently does for a number of years, but the implication here, it may be asserted, is that guidance represents a mutation with tradition which *may* lead into the whole new realm of "new subjects" and an entirely new conception of the secondary school both from the functional as well as from the organizational standpoint. Of course the meaning here is the clear necessity for the inclusion of subjects sometimes spoken of as "vocational" or skill-subjects. This modern concept of the high school tailors the subject matter offered to the needs of the students being served rather than toward any "propaedeutic" function.

The importance of a medium of common intercourse cannot be whittled away by the citation of values, cultural or otherwise, to be derived from English "appreciation" courses on any but the very highest level. Obviously, this emphasis on communication ability is but one more epitome of the purpose of modern secondary education.

Conclusive as its implications above appear to be there are yet several grounds on which to criticize the validity of the conclusions of the Eight-Year Study. In fact:

- (1) Certain notoriously progressive schools included in the survey *might* have had the ability to attract individuals of far more than ordinary ability and potentiality. While this cannot change the results it *may* prevent them from establishing such trends as otherwise will be conceded. In other words these individuals, for intrinsic reasons, would have succeeded under many circumstances.
- (2) Coupled with the above hypothesis is the difficulty of securing the *Doppel-gangers* or spiritual doubles of the selectees from the thirty schools. To this writer the basic impossibility of such a matching seems greatly to weaken if not positively nullify any advantage claimed on the strength of a "small statistical" success. Moreover, the very selecting of "exact doubles" seems to be inconsistent with the principles of progressive education which capitalizes

upon and glories in the small facets of individualistic personality which mark each of its subjects.

- (3) The Eight-Year Study arrived at the conclusions which it wished to arrive at; while there is no suggestion of conscious subjectivity implied here, it seems reasonable to ask for methods of proof which stand on other ground than an elaboration of the original thesis. This is essentially what has been utilized. In other words the proof is merely another way of looking at the hypothesis. It does not really prove anything! Needless to say this writer does not suggest educational evaluation methods radically opposed to the methods outlined in the study. He does not know any, but does feel that educational experimentation may well be furthered within this area of attitude, personality, and potentiality.

Nevertheless, beyond this brief plus and minus evaluation of the Eight-Year Study lies a stronger although more general conclusion. For regardless of the criticisms implied it appears that the method of the Eight-Year Study both as to development of curriculum and as to evaluation of results demonstrates the necessity for scientific measures in the furthering of the present stage of transition of the American Secondary School. The direction seems to be fairly well apprehended and it remains only to see whether the final destination will be reached by proper planning or by trial and error. For there is also a large ideological difference involved in the choice of a method.

¹ Giles, H. H., McCutchen, S. P., and Zechiel, A. N. *Exploring the Curriculum* (Volume II of the Eight-Year Study), pp. 315-320.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Thirty Schools Tell Their Story*, New York, Harper & Bros., 1942.

⁴ New York, Harper & Bros., 1942. *Passim*.

Reconstruction and Economic Recovery In Western Europe

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A little more than five years ago, bombs, rockets, and other missiles were creating destruction in Western Europe. Cities were in ruins, bridges were masses of twisted girders, seaports were blocked by sunken ships, and the economy of whole countries was paralyzed by the damage wrought by war. By the beginning of June, 1945, when bombs and shells had ceased to fall upon the cities of Europe, the job of reconstruction must have seemed to be a hopeless one. In France alone, there was so much damage that it seemed reasonable to believe that it would take five years just to restore the most basic industries, transportation facilities, and public utilities to their pre-war rate of production and operation.² Great Britain faced the problems of repairing her bombed cities, replacing the merchant shipping which had been lost during the war, and of reviving an economy which had been

exhausted by the pitiless demands of six years of warfare. Other countries, such as Belgium and the Netherlands, faced similar problems, and Germany was prostrate after suffering military defeat.

Postwar recovery was badly delayed through the last half of 1945 and through much of 1946 by an unfortunate combination of circumstances. For one thing, the war in the Far East outlasted the war in Europe with the result that there was continued emphasis for several months upon war production, troop movements, and other military measures. For another thing, damage was so extensive and many people were so exhausted, dispirited, and often so undernourished, that little progress toward reconstruction could be made. In any case, no real progress was possible until the main road, rail, and inland water routes had been repaired

(Continued on page 171)

T 15. Spreading Independence in the Western Hemisphere

STUDY OUTLINE

1. Second War for Independence
 - a. Causes and events leading to War of 1812
 - b. American unpreparedness: lowered taxes; expiration of U. S. Bank charter; ineffective army and naval forces; sectional opposition to war. Hasty American military preparations prior to declaration of war
 - c. Comparison of British and American war plans and resources
 - d. The war; American failures and British successes, 1812; naval victories of Perry and Macdonough, and American successes and failures in the Canadian campaigns; surprising showing of American naval vessels despite British superiority at sea; British victories, 1814; Jackson's victory at New Orleans
 - e. Internal wartime conditions; the Hartford Convention
 - f. Treaty of Ghent and its significance; manifold consequences of the war, at home and abroad
2. Relations with Spain during the 1810s: controversies over boundaries of West Florida and Texas; American occupation of West Florida; troubles with Florida, and the Seminole War of 1818; claims and counter-claims and the settlements made by the Treaty of 1819
3. Spanish-American Independence and Monroe Doctrine
 - a. Spanish-American colonial wars for independence; recognition of the new American states by the United States
 - b. The European "Holy Alliance" and its policies; decision to aid Spain regain colonies; Russian expansion in far northwest after Napoleonic wars; British attitude toward the American designs of Continental powers
 - c. Monroe Doctrine: attitudes toward further European expansion in Western Hemisphere expressed by American leaders from George Washington on; British minister Canning's proposal, 1823; Monroe's annual message of 1823 and the provisions of the Monroe Doctrine
 - d. Results of his pronouncement: British support; Spanish-American independence affirmed; Treaty of 1824 with Russia; the Panama Congress of 1825-26; the Monroe Doctrine as a major policy

AIDS TO LEARNING

AUDIO-VISUAL

- Land of Liberty, Reel II (16 mm. sound film; 20 min.). Teaching Film Custodians
- Territorial Expansion of the U. S. from 1783 to 1853 (16 mm. sound film; 22 min.). International Geographic Pictures; also Eastin Films
- Our Monroe Doctrine (16 mm. sound film; 23 min.). Eastin Films
- Establishment of the American Nation at Home and Abroad (filmstrip). Society for Visual Education, Inc., 1345 W. Diversey Parkway, Chicago 14
- Louisiana Purchase and Florida (filmstrip). Jam Handy Organization
- Washington Invaded (filmstrip). Young America Films
- Star Spangled Banner; Old Ironsides; Andrew Jackson; The Monroe Doctrine (filmstrips). Pictorial Events
- J. A. & A. Lomax, *American Ballads and Folk Songs*; W. G. Tyrrell, *Musical Recordings for American History, I*
- HISTORIES**
- K. C. Babcock, *The Rise of American Nationality*; E. Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*; F. J. Turner, *The Rise of the New West* (The American Nation, vols. 12-14)
- H. E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*; C. R. Fish, *The Path of Empire*; R. D. Paine, *The Fight for a Free*

- Sea*; W. R. Shepherd, *The Hispanic Nations of the New World* (The Chronicles of America, vols. 17, 23, 46, 50)
- R. H. Gabriel, *The Lure of the Frontier*; W. Wood & R. H. Gabriel, *The Winning of Freedom* (The Pageant of America, vols. 2, 6)
- A. B. Hart, *Formation of the Union* (Epochs of American History)
- A. Johnson, *Union and Democracy* (Riverside History of the U. S.)
- J. A. Krout & D. R. Fox, *The Completion of Independence* (A History of American Life, vol. 5)
- W. MacDonald, *From Jefferson to Lincoln* (Home University Library)
- F. A. Walker, *The Making of the Nation* (American History series)
- H. Adams, *History of the United States . . .*; J. T. Adams, *Album of American History*, II; C. A. & M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I; Cambridge Modern History, VII; E. Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, V; J. T. Faris, *Real Stories from Our History*; J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, III-V; R. Page, *Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy*; F. A. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier*; F. Pratt, *The Heroic Years*; W. F. Reddaway, *The Monroe Doctrine*; T. Roosevelt, *Naval War of 1812*; E. Snow & H. A. Gosnell, *On the Decks of "Old Ironsides"*
- Biographies:** R. A. Berry, *Sextant and Sails* (N. Bowditch); W. B. Clark, *Gallant John Barry*; A. H. Fenton, *Oliver Hazard Perry*; R. S. Holland, *Freedom's Flag* (F. S. Key); T. F. Moran, *American Presidents*; G. Morgan, *The Life of James Monroe*; H. Nicolay, *Decatur of the Old Navy*; I. Stone, *They Also Ran*. Consult the American Statesman Series and the Dictionary of American Biography

ATLASES

- Harper's *Atlas of American History*; C. L. & E. H. Lord, *Historical Atlas of the United States*; C. O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, Plates 162, 166

STORIES

- J. A. Altscheler, *A Herald of the West*; D. Aspen, *Barney's Barges*; I. Bacheller, *D'ri and I*; J. Barnes, *Yankee Ships and Yankee Sailors*; C. T. Brady, *For the Freedom of the Sea*; C. J. Finger, *Cape Horn Snorter*; C. W. Gordon, *The Rock and the River*; E. B. & A. A. Knipe, *Lost—Brother*; B. G. Marshall, *Old Hickory's Prisoner*; M. Nicholson, *The Cavalier of Tennessee*; K. L. Roberts, *Captain Caution & The Lively Lady*; H. B. Safford, *Mr. Madison's War*; M. E. Sewell, *Decatur and Somers*; C. L. Skinner, *Andy Breaks Trail*; A. Sperry, *All Sails Set & Storm Canvas*; E. A. Stockpole, *Privateer Ahoy!*

SOURCES

- H. S. Commager, *Documents of American History*, 112, 115, 126, 127, 131; H. S. Commager & A. Nevins, *The Heritage of America*, 52-57; A. B. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, chs. 19, 22; F. Monaghan, *Heritage of Freedom*, 45, 79, 80; D. S. Muzzey, *Readings in American History*, 56-58, 62, 63; *Old South Leaflets*, 56; Veterans of Foreign Wars, *America*, V ("1812—Before and After")

TOWARD HEMISPHERE INDEPENDENCE

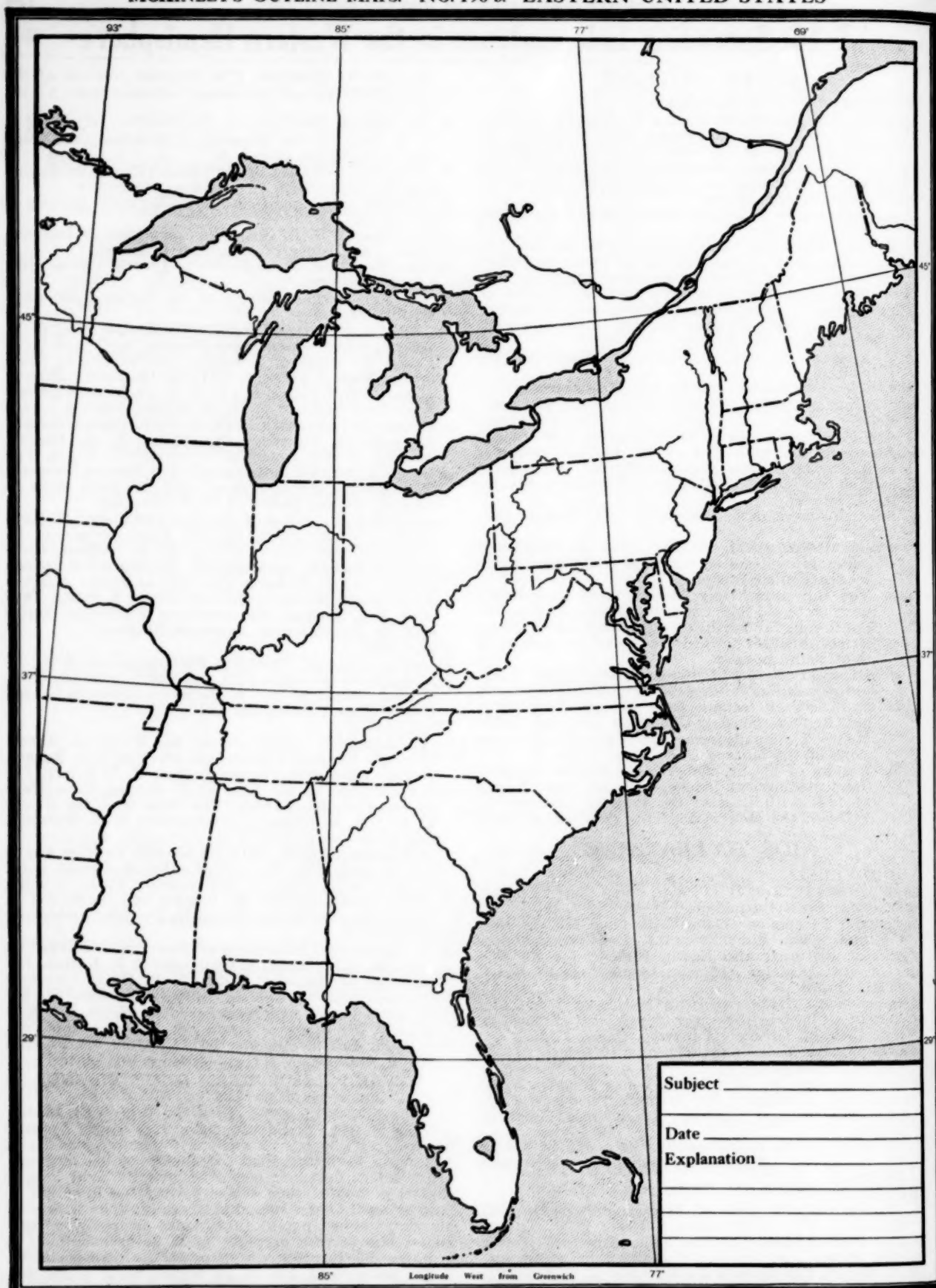
DOLLY MADISON LEAVES WASHINGTON

Tuesday, August, 23, 1814.

DEAR SISTER, . . . [Mr. Madison writes that] I should be ready at a moment's warning to enter my carriage, and leave the city; that the enemy seemed stronger than had at first been reported, and it might happen that they would reach the city with the intention of destroying it. I am accordingly ready; I have pressed as many cabinet papers into trunks as to fill one carriage; our private property must be sacrificed, as it is impossible to procure wagons for its transportation. I am determined not to go myself until I see Mr. Madison safe. . . .

¹ This is the fifteenth of a series of History Topics for American History prepared by Morris Wolf, Girard College, Philadelphia, Pa.

MCKINLEY'S OUTLINE MAPS. NO. 196 b. EASTERN UNITED STATES

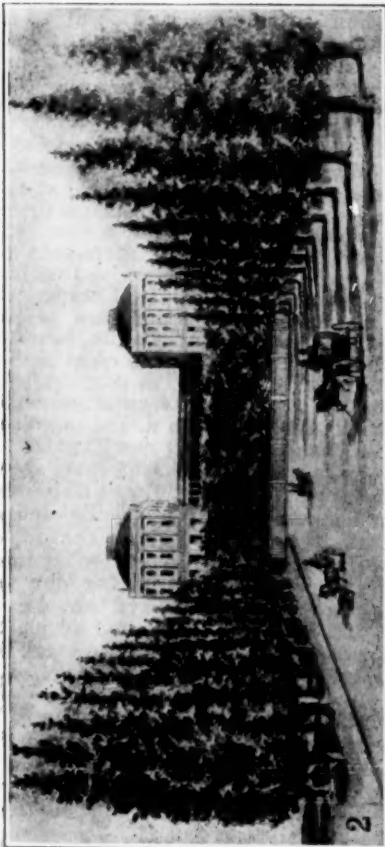


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MAP STUDY FOR TOPIC T15. WAR OF 1812 AND AFTERMATH

1. Show (a) the principal campaigns and battles of the War of 1812 and (b) the territorial provisions of the Treaty of 1819. 2. Distinguish and label the regions comprising (a) the states and (b) the Nation's territories, 1819.

War of 1812



The top views show the federal capitol before and after its destruction by fire when British forces occupied the city in the summer of 1814. The lower views depict Macdonough's victory at Plattsburg Bay on Lake Champlain and the victory of the *Constitution* (*Old Ironsides*) over the British warship, *Guerrière*. Find out what stories are connected with these scenes. What reflections come to your mind when you compare these war pictures with what you know of warfare today?

Wednesday Morning, twelve o'clock.—Since sunrise I have been turning my spy-glass in every direction, and watching with unwearied anxiety, hoping to discover the approach of my dear husband and his friends; but alas! I can descry only groups of military, wandering in all directions, as if there was a lack of arms, or of spirit to fight for their own fireside.

Three o'clock.—Will you believe it, my sister? we have had a battle or skirmish, near Bladensburg, and here I am still, within sound of the cannon! Mr. Madison comes not. May God protect us! Two messengers, covered with dust, come to bid me fly; but here I mean to wait for him. . . . At this late hour a wagon has been procured, and I have had it filled with plate and the most valuable portable articles. . . . Whether it will reach its destination, the 'Bank of Maryland,' or fall into the hands of British soldiery, events must determine. Our kind friend, Mr. Carroll, has come to hasten my departure, and [is] in a very bad humor with me, because I insist on waiting until the large picture of General Washington is secured, and it requires to be unscrewed from the wall. This process was found too tedious for these perilous moments; I have ordered the frame to be broken, and the canvas taken out. . . . And now, dear sister, I must leave this house, or the retreating army will make me a prisoner in it by filling up the road I am directed to take. When I shall again write to you, or where I shall be tomorrow, I cannot tell!

DOLLY.

—From *Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison* (Houghton, Mifflin and Co.), pp. 109-111.

What anxieties of Washingtonians on the eve of the British occupation seem to be reflected in Mrs. Madison's letter?

ANTECEDENTS OF MONROE DOCTRINE

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *Political* connexion as possible.—So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.—

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation.—Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.—Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities. . . . —Washington, *Farewell Address*, in Ford, *Writings of Washington*, XIII, 311-318.

I hope he sees, and will promote in his new situation, the advantages of a cordial fraternization among all the American nations, and the importance of their coalescing in an American system of policy, totally independent of and unconnected with that of Europe. The day is not distant when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other, . . . The principles of society there and here, then, are radically different, and I hope no American patriot will ever lose sight of the essential policy of interdicting in the seas and territories of both Americas, the ferocious and sanguinary contests of Europe. I wish to see this coalition begin.—Jefferson in letter to William Short, August 4, 1820 (quoted in Moore, *Digest of International Law*, VI, 371).

MONROE DOCTRINE

At the proposal of the Russian imperial government, . . . a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. . . . In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . .

Of events in that quarter of the globe [Europe] with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. . . . With the movements in this hemisphere, we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies, or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view an interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. . . .

The late events in Spain and Portugal, shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact, no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question, to which all independent powers, whose governments differ from theirs, are interested; even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy, in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none. But, in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent, without endangering our peace and happiness: nor can any one believe that our Southern Brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. . . . —Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II, pp. 209, 218-219.

In what ways was the Monroe Doctrine in line with the above-quoted views of Washington and Jefferson? Link each point in Monroe's Declaration with European acts and intentions that he wanted to checkmate. What were the major consequences of the Monroe Doctrine?

(Continued from page 166)

and returned to something like normal peacetime operation. It is needless to say that the job of restoring shattered bridges, railroad yards, and seaports to operation was a major task which could not be completed in a matter of weeks or months; it has taken several years to make the necessary repairs, and even today some of the seaports of Western Europe are operating at considerably less than their pre-war capacity while extensive reconstruction is still being carried out.

Despite the many difficulties which have been encountered in bringing about economic recovery in Western Europe, very encouraging progress has been made. UNRRA food supplies and surplus American military equipment, especially trucks, locomotives, and rolling stock, helped to give the French, Belgians, Dutch, and Italians a start in rebuilding their economies. Food, tools, and equipment furnished under the Marshall Plan played a particularly important part in speeding up the recovery of many war-ravaged nations; indeed, it is quite possible that American aid saved several nations from sinking into economic chaos and civil war. Above all else, however, it must be emphasized that Britons, Frenchmen, Belgians, Italians and others have *worked hard* to clear away debris, rebuild railroads, construct houses, and bring about in every possible way the economic recovery of their respective countries.

A visitor to Great Britain, France, or Belgium in 1948 might have been encouraged by the progress which was being made toward recovery at that time. Nevertheless, he would have been depressed by many things—by acres of bomb damage, for example, by shortages of electricity, food, and consumer commodities of various kinds, and by the lack of any amenities which had formerly lent charm and a spirit of “good living” to so many cities of the Continent. Definite progress toward recovery had been made by midsummer of 1948, but conditions were still grim and depressing for the most part, and inflation and black marketeering were rife in several countries.

It is most heartening to be able to note that vast improvement has been made in living conditions in Great Britain and in most of Western

Europe in the two years which have elapsed since 1948. In Great Britain, for example, there is more food and more varieties of food available today than was the case two years ago. Most foodstuff, with the exception of meat and sugar, is no longer rationed or else it is rationed very liberally. Petrol rationing has ceased, and most consumer commodities—except for certain luxury items which are for export only—are now readily available or are available after the customer's name has been on the waiting list for a time.³ Life in London or Edinburgh is no longer as grim and drab as it was two or three years ago; for one thing, some of the amenities which had to be sacrificed during the war and the immediate postwar period have been restored. The lights of Piccadilly and Leicester Square are bright again to cheer the London theatregoer, and the guards at Buckingham Palace, St. James's, and Royal Windsor are wearing their traditional scarlet coats and big shakos again.

Tremendous progress has been made in repairing bomb damage in such cities as London, Southampton, and Coventry, and many new buildings have been built or are being built. New autos, taxis, buses, and railroad equipment are to be seen throughout the country, and considerable progress has been made in repairing and strengthening roads and railroad beds which were subjected to severe strain during the war years. However, lest we paint too bright a picture, it must be made clear that there are acres and acres of bombed-out areas remaining in London and in many other cities. There is a serious housing shortage, and there is a shortage of man-power and materials available for the task of building new dwellings. With the present acceleration of the defense industries in Great Britain, it is clear that the housing shortage will grow even more acute before any further improvements can be made.

Many of the countries on the Continent have had to face problems even more serious than those with which the British have had to contend. Indeed, France and Italy have had to face rather large-scale internal resistance to Marshall Aid; Communist ruffians and Communist-led labor unions have used such weapons as strikes, riots, and sabotage to try to delay or destroy reconstruction efforts which were

based on the use of materials and equipment furnished by the United States. The French and Italian governments have had to take elaborate security measures in order to counter Communist sabotage and obstruction.⁴

In spite of Communist opposition, and in spite of the paralyzing effects of postwar inflation, the French and Italians have made considerable progress in replacing and repairing devastated and damaged buildings, railroad lines, seaports, and factories. Perhaps the rebuilding of Le Havre will serve as an example of the problems which have been faced and the progress which has been made. Le Havre was terribly damaged during the recent war. Whole blocks of buildings were razed to the ground. Quays, warehouses, cranes, and other harbor equipment were blown up or destroyed in one way or another. The channel into the harbor was filled with sunken ships, and part of the breakwater was destroyed. Under the circumstances, it appeared likely that it would take several years before Le Havre could be restored to use as a seaport. Appearances were correct; it has taken several years to restore Le Havre, and the job has not yet been completed. There are still vast areas of destruction in the city, and the harbor is full of rusting hulls of sunken ships. Nevertheless, the city is being rebuilt, and the port facilities have been replaced or repaired. There are new cranes, warehouses, quays, oil storage tanks, and other harbor facilities, and the channel has been cleared of sunken ships. The finest ocean liners, such as the 49,500 ton *Liberté* (formerly the German liner, *Europa*), are again able to dock at Le Havre, and the city has resumed its pre-war position as one of Europe's principal seaports.

Belgium and the Netherlands seem to have made particularly impressive progress in rejuvenating their economies. Shattered bridges have been replaced by fine new structures; seaports like Rotterdam and Amsterdam have been restored to full operation; railroad lines have been reconstructed and re-equipped; and the stores of Brussels, Amsterdam, and other cities in the Benelux countries are jammed with goods. The Dutch or Belgian consumer is now able to buy anything from a pair of shoes to a new automobile—if he has the money

to make his purchase; the "if" is a very important factor, however, because prices are very high and many of the Belgians and Dutch are not able to buy the goods which are so abundant in the shop windows.

The Belgians and Dutch are entitled to be very proud of the reconstruction projects which they have undertaken and completed during the last five years. They have accomplished as much constructive work as anyone could possibly expect of them in the short span of years since the war's end. Just as one example of what they have done, we might cite the case of a village which is located near Ghent. A German division and a pursuing Canadian division fought a battle in and around the village in the fall of 1944. The church and nearly all the houses and buildings in the community were totally destroyed by artillery fire. An important highway bridge near the village was blown up. The bridge was replaced temporarily by an emergency structure which was erected by military engineers, but the temporary span has now been replaced by a permanent one. The church and the houses have been replaced by fine new brick buildings, most of which are now completed and available for use. The reconstructed village is a splendid monument to the courage, determination, and willingness to work of the Belgian people.

The recovery of the nations of Northwestern Europe is particularly noteworthy. Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway have made marvellous progress in rebuilding their cities, seaports, factories, and transportation facilities. There is full employment, or very nearly full employment, in each of the countries just mentioned. However, economic conditions are less encouraging in France and Italy than in the northern countries. Recovery in France is severely hampered by the effects of inflation; the gap between slowly rising wages and rapidly rising prices has led to considerable discouragement and to a whole series of strikes and political crises during the last few years. There has been even more difficulty in Italy where severe inflation has been coupled with large-scale unemployment. The problem of unemployment is compounded by the unwelcome factor of rapid population growth in a country which lacks the resources

to supply its present population of 46,000,000 with an adequate standard of living.

In general, it may be said that Western Europe has made a wonderful recovery from war damage and from the economic dislocation brought about by war. Italy, with its unemployed, and Germany with its bomb damage, its masses of refugees, and its shortage of men (due to wartime casualties in killed and wounded), are the blackest spots in the picture of recovery in the West.⁵ However, there is a very black cloud in the offing; the entire civilian economy, and even the lives and independence of the peoples of Western Europe are threatened by the warlike measures of the peoples of the Soviet countries. The need to re-arm the West threatens the progress of all further efforts to complete the reconstruction and the economic recovery of the West. Moreover, there is a terrible danger that Soviet armies and bombers may someday strike westward across the Elbe. If the Soviet armies should strike, countries like France and Belgium will suffer vast destruction. One needs only to glance at a map to see that air bases in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany are within less than an hour's flying time of such heavily populated areas as Brussels, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the Ruhr! It is small wonder, then, that many people in Western Europe would like to remain neutral if another major war should break out in the immediate future. However,

the nations of Western Europe are so situated geographically that there is no possibility that they could remain neutral in case of a general conflict; their best hope is to strengthen their armed forces as quickly as possible and to present a united front within the framework of the North Atlantic Pact and within the framework of the various alliances which they have made with each other.

¹ The present article is a "sequel" to my "Great Britain's Struggle toward Recovery," *Social Studies*, XI (January, 1949), 6-9. The former article was based on observations made during travel in England and France in 1948 and the present one is based on notes taken during a visit to England, Scotland, Belgium, the Netherlands, and other European countries in the summer of 1950.

² For an understanding of the amount of physical destruction suffered by France from 1940 to 1945, see J. F. Bell, "Problems of Economic Reconstruction in France," *Economic Geography*, XXII (January, 1946), 54-66. See also my "War Damage and Problems of Reconstruction in France, 1940-1945," *Pacific Historical Review*, XV (December, 1946), 417-426.

³ It should be noted that the effort to re-arm against the menace of Communism may cause petrol rationing to be re-instituted soon.

⁴ For an understanding of the menace of Communism in France and of Government precautions against violence and sabotage, read Vernon VanDyke, "The Position and Prospects of the Communists in France," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIII (March, 1948), 45-81, and André Géraud, "Insurrection Fades in France," *Foreign Affairs*, 28 (October, 1949), 30-42.

⁵ Germany's problems have been made particularly complex by the loss of territory to Poland, by the presence of millions of propertyless refugees from the East, by the splitting of the country into an Eastern (Soviet-dominated) and a Western state, and by the loss of some 5,000,000 men of military age who have been killed or crippled or who are still "missing" more than five years after the end of hostilities.

The Teachers' Page

H. M. BOODISH

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In our last issue we raised the question of what is important in the teaching of the social studies. The concept of social competence, or education for citizenship, conceived to include competence in all interpersonal as well as in all inter-group relationships, received consideration. We should like to continue with this whole question but consider in more detail the role of history.

An interesting reference to this subject occurred in the Sunday edition of the *New York*

Times, December 24, 1950. The article, by Benjamin Fine, was entitled "Three Year History Course is recommended for High Schools by Schlesinger Group." The report is of special significance because it embodied several controversial issues in connection with the question we raised: What is important in the teaching of the social studies?

One of the first recommendations of the Schlesinger committee urged that three instead of two years be devoted to the teaching of his-

tory in the senior high school. Certainly, in view of the expanding nature of history, no one, particularly teachers of social studies, could theoretically argue against this proposal. However, other areas of human knowledge are also expanding, such as the general sciences, as well as the social sciences, such as sociology, political science, psychology and economics. If more time is to be devoted to history, where would that time be obtained? What other areas of instruction would be dropped?

A point on which there is probably general agreement is that all school children be inculcated with a thorough appreciation of the American Heritage. Again the divergent views concern content and method of approach. The Schlesinger committee itself split six to two, with Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger being in the minority, on the organizational approach. The larger group favored a chronological treatment, believing that it gives the student a sense of unity and a continuity of history. It opposes the topical approach because it tends to destroy that unity and continuity. Additional arguments that might be presented in support of the chronological approach are that (1) much of the textbook material is treated chronologically; (2) it develops in the students a sense of time; (3) most teachers have been trained in it, and another approach would require in-service training on the part of the teachers, or it would result in poor teaching.¹

The two minority members felt that the topical organization is fresher, more stimulating and less boring to the student.

"It has the great pedagogical value of periodically bringing the pupil abreast of his own times . . . It does not oblige him to wait until the final weeks of the year to learn about the world in which he lives."

In addition, "it also affords the teachers a better opportunity to introduce materials from political science, economics and other related fields."

Undoubtedly both points of view have weight, which perhaps suggests a logical as well as desirable solution, namely, the organization of the course into two parts: (1) one year (or more, if it's a three year course) devoted to a chronological, and the rest of the time to a topical treatment. This type of organization,

with some modification, is presently followed in the Philadelphia schools.

The other aspect of the controversial issue regarding the teaching of history is the degree of emphasis to be given to world history. The committee unanimously favored the inclusion of world history in the three year course. However, the report urged that emphasis be placed on "the predominant role which Europeans have for centuries been playing in the creation of the world in which we live today."

Considering the world scene today, with the upheavals taking place in the Asian world and its surrounding islands, such an approach to world history seems somewhat narrow. It is quite true that Europeans have played a major role in modern world history and in shaping our present world. However, the Far-and Near-Eastern philosophies and ideologies have not been without their effect on our ways of living. Furthermore, if our students are to grow into world-minded citizens, can we afford to teach them a type of historical isolationism?

It is interesting that *The New York Times* should have received a letter from Dr. Theodore H. Von Laue, assistant professor of history, Swarthmore College, in reply to an earlier editorial treating the same topic. Professor Von Laue writes:

"What are the major problems in the present world with which American high school students must cope, and can the intellectual preparation of a history course centered around Western Europe and the United States . . . provide the answer to these problems?

"The current crisis should sufficiently drive home the reply to the first question, that the principal problems of the future will not be those of relations between the United States and Western Europe, but between Western Civilization and the civilizations of Asia (Russian, Chinese, Indian, Moslem, etc.) . . . what preparations are our schools making for briefing Americans for contact with the non-Western world?"

Dr. Von Laue continues in the same vein, labeling the suggested emphasis on European history as "mental isolationism" which prevents any insight and penetration into the problems of the non-Western world.

If we may borrow the phrase used in the last issue, social competence in today's world is different from what it was fifty or one hundred years ago. Today, social competence implies living in a world community and getting along with all the people of the world community. How can we learn to get along with them if we fail to learn enough about them to understand them? It is important that every pupil learn about the American heritage, but, in learning about it he should see it not as an isolated nationalistic phenomenon, but as part of a liberating world movement in which we have taken leadership.

The teaching of history is vital to any social studies program for it is "the lamp of experience" that guides man's footsteps into the future. However, we are faced with the problem of time limitations which obviously affect how much history our students can be made to learn. Perhaps it is time for a re-evaluation of what is important in the teaching of history (and of social studies), taking into consideration the time limitations already referred to and the other pressures upon the ever-expanding curriculum. We all, of course, have our own points of view. It is natural for us to consider important that which we learned as students. It is natural for one trained in history to consider history as the subject that ought to be taught. The teacher with special training in political science would naturally wish to give more time to problems of government. Thus it would be with those whose special interests are in economics, sociology, geography, or family relations.

The re-evaluation of what is important in the teaching of social studies should be considered not from our own particular mind-sets, although we would not want to ignore them

altogether, but from the point of view of the needs of the students. At this point, we ought perhaps, to comment on the word *needs*. As we understand the term, we conceive needs in terms of desired outcomes. These are not necessarily the same for all students. The very nature of the student, the way his biological potentialities have evolved in their interaction with the environment, is a factor in what his needs may be. The role that any child lives while going to school, as a member of his family and other groups, together with the ultimate roles he will play as he continues to grow, develop and mature, are in essence the real determinants of his needs. Though each individual has needs peculiar to his own development and role in life, some needs are universal for all. These have been expressed from time to time in various forms in educational literature.

Our point here is that we need to re-evaluate needs of pupils in terms both of the universal roles all individuals play and of the special roles that will be theirs because they live in certain localities or because their potentialities and earlier training limit them to those roles. High school curricula in the past were organized for the training of leaders. Today, the colleges have for the most part taken over this function. By far the largest number of students in high school are not going to do any leading. The ability to follow intelligently becomes, therefore, a necessary objective or outcome. That, together with the multiplicity of tensions that characterize modern life in our industrial age, emphasizes further the need to re-examine the teaching of history as well as the whole social studies field.

¹ Bulletin of the California Department of Education. *The Social Studies Program for the Public Schools of California*. Vol. VII, No. 4, 1948.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, New York

Minnesota wants to share its recorded teaching materials with other states. Its state department of education has offered to make master recordings of some 800 programs for any one agency in a state. In turn, that agency

would have to duplicate recordings for local schools on magnetic sound tape. Interested states must act before June 30, 1951, at which date Minnesota's grant for experimenting with "tapes for teaching" will come to an end.

FILMS

Americans All. 20 minutes. Rental. Anti-Defamation League, 212 5th Ave., N. Y. City.

This film explores the vital problems of human relations with which America is faced today and indicates some of the ways we may approach solutions to these problems.

Brotherhood for Survival. 11 minutes. Free loan. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 4th Ave., N. Y. City.

It describes the way in which the Conference works to bring about better understanding among men.

Make Mine Freedom. 10 minutes. Color. Free loan. Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas.

What forces tend to divide America? Is a police state the best way to unite us? Argues the ways for co-operation in a free country.

Man—One Family. 17 minutes. Rental. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y. City.

Explodes the theory of a master race, gives the scientific evidence supporting the essential similarity of all human beings.

Picture in Your Mind. 16 minutes. Color. Rental. International Film Foundation, 1600 Broadway, N. Y. City.

Through modernistic art and animation, this film shows the roots of our prejudices, and helps us in a self-examination of our own feelings and emotions about other races and religions.

Story of Dr. Carver. 10 minutes. Rental. Teaching Film Custodians, 25 W. 43rd Street, N. Y. City.

The work of this great Negro scientist helps us to understand the contributions of the colored race.

Stranger at Our Door. 20 minutes. Rental. Family Films, Inc., 6047 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood, California.

Shows what happens when a family of refugees moves into a new land. A teen-age boy wins the respect of his new neighbors.

Whoever You Are. 20 minutes. Rental. Film Program Services, 1173 Sixth Ave., N. Y. City.

How a group of parents in New York's upper West Side carried out a program which led to better racial understanding.

Building a Nation—Israel. 18 minutes. Sale.

United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., N. Y. City.

Shows how an old culture is changed under the impact of modern technology. Different cultures of Jews and Arabs are contrasted in this factual account of Israel.

A Story in Silver. 2 reels. Color. S-212 Association Films, Inc., 35 W. 45th St., N. Y. City.

Silver crafting from Revolutionary Days to to-day, with antique as well as modern place settings depicted.

A Romance of Industry. 2 reels. Color. Association Films.

Shows how a major industry grew from the experiments of Dr. Edward G. Acheson, the inventor of carborundum.

The Magic of Coal. 2 reels. S-278, Association Films.

The story of coal, mighty source of power, and its by-products—cosmetics, medicine, plastics, and fabrics is depicted.

The Eternal Gem. 1 reel. S-285, Association Films.

The fiery brilliance of the diamond has inspired kings and vagabonds, merchants and adventurers. Today it is a symbol of lasting devotion.

The Miracle of Rubber. 20 minutes. Color. S-813, Association Films.

This film takes you behind the scenes showing the mighty technological forces that produce rubber—vital in peace and war!

Defense of the Peace. 1 reel, 12 minutes. Dept. of Public Information, United Nations. Lake Success, L. I.

Shows simply and concisely the structure of the United Nations. The organs of the United Nations and the function of each division are explained with live action and animation.

To-morrow Begins the Day. 1 reel. 10 minutes. United Nations.

Graphically shows the United Nations at work on its legacy of problems—despite political disagreements among the Big Powers.

U.N. at Work. 2 reels. 17 minutes. United Nations.

Depicts dramatically, with unusual techniques, the birth and workings of the International Children's Emergency Fund.

Each for All. 10 minutes. Rental. Film Division,

CIO, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Tells the story of the British Trade Unions in the workshop, and at the national conference.

People of the Cumberland. 18 minutes. Rental. Film Division, CIO.

Gives scenes of people and events helping to build the "new South" through trade union development under CIO.

For the Record. 20 minutes. Rental. Film Division, CIO.

Offers scenes from the 1946 strikes to maintain "take home pay." A reminder of labor's continuing efforts to gain a decent standard of living for all Americans.

Journey to Banana Land. 21 minutes. Color.

Sale. Institute of Visual Training, 40 East 49th St., N. Y. City.

Tells the story of Middle America—countries—people—their culture. The history of the banana from planting to your students' tables.

Lewis and Clark. 2 reels. Color. Sale or rental.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Illinois.

Here is the story of the expedition made by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the land from the Mississippi to the Pacific Coast.

La Salle. 2 reels. Color, Sale or rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

The triumphant, yet tragic career of Robert Cavellier, Sieur de La Salle, is portrayed in this film. His work in the New World, his relations with the Indians, his passage down the Mississippi and his claiming of the Valley for France are poignantly related.

Your Neighbor Celebrates. 26 minutes, Rental. Anti-Defamation League.

A pictorial report of the typical observances of the customs and ceremonies of the major Jewish holidays throughout the year.

The Cummington Story. 20 minutes. Sale, Castle Films, 1445 Park Ave., N. Y. City.

Tells the story of what happened to a group of refugees who moved into a conservative New England community, and the way in which they finally came to be accepted by their neighbors.

FILMSTRIPS

150 Million Americans—The U. S. Census. 53 black and white frames. Teacher's guide.

Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, Times Square, N. Y. City.

In this film strip the U. S. Census is portrayed as a scientific study which tells us much about ourselves as a nation. It is stressed how important this information is in determining national policy in our struggle against Communism.

American Negro History. 73 frames. Sale. Bryant Foundation, 1600 Broadway, N. Y. City.

Tells the story of the Negro in the United States, their leaders, and their contributions.

Equality before the Law. 36 frames. Color. Sale. Curriculum Films, Inc., 41-17 Crescent St., Long Island City, N. Y.

Examines the principles of habeas corpus, jury trial, and the protection of persons and property.

Better World Neighbors. 50 frames. Sale. Film Publishers, Inc. 25 Broad St., N. Y. City.

The work of UNESCO, and how each of us can help is shown.

We Are All Brothers. 54 frames. Sale. Public Affairs Committee, 22 E. 38th St., N. Y. City.

Explodes the theory of the supremacy of one race or nationality. Gives scientific data.

To Secure These Rights. 50 frames. Sale. National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Presents a report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights showing how education can help and how legislation can help.

Our Flag Series. Consists of three full-color filmstrips. Sale. Young America Films, Inc., 18 E. 41 St., N. Y. City.

1. *The History of Our Flag.* 40 frames.

2. *Flag Etiquette.* 36 frames.

3. *The Story of Our National Anthem.* 40 frames.

These give an appreciation and understanding of the history of our flag and our national anthem, and illustrate and explain some of the most important ways in which we respect and honor the Flag.

Children of Many Lands. Series One. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

Consists of eight self-contained teaching units showing life as it is lived by other peoples, in other lands, at other times. Each filmstrip contains an average of 66 frames, for sale.

Eskimo Children
 Navajo Children
 French-Canadian Children
 Colonial Children
 Mexican Children
 Children of Holland
 Children of Switzerland
 Children of China

RECORDINGS

Americans All—Immigrants All. 78 or 33 1/3 r.p.m. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

This is a series of 24 recorded programs presenting the story of the contributions of our immigrants.

In the American Tradition. 78 r.p.m. American Book Co., 88 Lexington Ave., N. Y. City.

It includes readings from Jefferson and Lincoln on the rights of Americans.

No Man Is an Island. 78 r.p.m. Sale. American Book Company.

The speeches of Thomas Paine and Patrick Henry are used to show that men must work together, but the rights of each must be respected.

I Can Hear It Now. 3 volumes. Columbia Records, 799 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City.

Volume I. Covers the period of world history from 1933 to 1945.

Here we hear the actual voices of F.D.R., Churchill, Stalin, Hitler and many others who were active in the drama-packed era of World War II.

Volume II. Covers the period from 1945 to 1948.

Here we hear the drama of V-J Day, the National Conventions, Marshall Plan, Mrs. Roosevelt, La Guardia, Churchill and other examples of the excitement of recent years.

Volume III. Covers the period from 1919 to

1932.

Classes are enabled to hear such notable personalities as Woodrow Wilson, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, William Jennings Bryan, Clarence Darrow, etc.

RADIO

Within Our Gates. WFIL, each Sunday morning from 11:30 to 12 noon.

Through the lives of famous men of all races, religions, and origins, this program produced by the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission in co-operation with the Temple University Radio workshop, tells the story of man's contribution to all mankind and is dedicated to human rights and decency.

Hear It Now. WCBS, Friday nights, from 9:00 to 10:00 P.M.

A documentary broadcast featuring the voices and events of historic days, with Edward R. Murrow.

TELEVISION

Courses by Video. WFIL-TV, each day from Monday to Friday from 11:00 A.M. to noon.

Nineteen colleges have begun a mass education program, with such courses as "Governments Around the World," "The Homes We Live In," "Nuclear Physics for the Layman," etc. These programs are making television a most effective force in adult education.

Channel 4, Philco Playhouse, from 9:00 to 10:00 P.M. on Sundays, has presented some fine plays with a historical background such as "Jefferson Davis," "The Trial of Peter Zenger," etc.

Channel 7, Pulitzer Playhouse, from 9:00 to 10:00 P.M. on Fridays, has presented some historical plays, such as "Valley Forge."

Channel 7, Fridays, from 10:00 to 10:30 P.M. presents March of Time Programs (News Through the Years).

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

MIDCENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
 ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Comments upon the Conference have been

found in *Channels* (Jan. 15, 1951), *American Journal of Public Health* (Jan., 1951), *The Survey* (Jan., 1951) and *UAW-CIO Ammunition* (Jan., 1951).

Channels expressed disappointment that the child welfare field of the Conference "did not get greater coverage than it did." This periodical seemed most concerned with the struggle against the black market in babies.

American Journal of Public Health evaluated the Conference's accomplishments by stating that

"it focused a clear spotlight on the key importance of personality development in our society. The influence of our educational, social, health, recreational, and religious institutions and practices on personality development was analyzed with great care, and important recommendations for the future were adopted. If even a small fraction of the recommendations are carried out by families, communities, private agencies and government, this Midcentury White House Conference will take its place among the previous four as a landmark in the strengthening of our social, health, religious, and educational services for children."

The Survey's account by Kathryn Close is the most comprehensive of all these accounts.

Five thousand persons from every state and territory and from a number of foreign countries were concerned with preparing a program to help young people develop healthy personalities and the necessary emotional attitude to withstand tension and adversity. The clergy of every denomination insisted upon a sense of religion as necessary to the child's stable development. In this connection the questions of "released time" and the use of the public school for the promotion of religious tenets were raised.

Religious and racial discrimination was condemned by the Conference. The young people attending succeeded in persuading the Conference to adopt an amendment to the Civil Rights recommendation appealing to the Federal Government to abolish segregation in Washington, D. C.

The conferees were concerned with present gaps in knowledge and with closing the span between knowledge and its application. Pediatricists and psychiatrists agree that children need love for their healthy emotional growth. Improved application of knowledge within the family lies in marriage counseling services to

avoid broken homes and anxiety-ridden parents. Other factors in improved application are sex education in the schools and nursery schools as a part of the public school system.

Dr. Allison Davis of the University of Chicago bitterly attacked unrealistic school programs and invalid intelligence tests. *The Survey's* brief account of his contributions are described in technical language and social language and social workers' jargon. However, these two subjects are discussed by *UAW-CIO Ammunition* in a very interesting and thought-provoking article. First it should be mentioned that this periodical, a union organ, is very clearly, very simply and very readably written. Its point of view, at least in the issues seen by this writer, has been consistently that the wage earner is discriminated against and badly treated by employers—corporations and protected by the union. Nevertheless, the article makes its points very explicitly. Dr. Davis is completing for the Rockefeller Foundation the most extensive study of intelligence tests ever made. He is of the opinion that the underestimation of the intelligence of wage earners' children (and the children of farm families and of the children in minority groups) leads to the loss in the country of 60 per cent of the abilities of the nation's crop of children. Intelligence tests do not measure intelligence, i.e., ability to learn. They measure the information picked up by children of the upper-income families. In cases where the tests are revised to test what they purport to measure the low-income children do as well as the high-income group.

Furthermore Dr. Davis says that the present day school

"is designed to make it rough for kids out of low-income families, and easy for kids out of upper-income families.

Now bear in mind that, while these tests don't mean anything, they are used in the schools to separate the little sheep kids from the little goat kids.

The children who score badly on the tests are put in the slow-learning groups, usually with the notion that they are hopeless, and the most important objective so far as they are concerned is to move them along out of the school system so they can go to work.

. . . The older schools, with the worst equipment, that are the most overcrowded, are in the neighborhoods where wage-earner kids go to school."

In the United States there is not one way of life but at least three different ways according to high, middle or low income. Each of these three has different ideals, different attitudes, different ways of doing things and different ways of talking.

The teachers who belong to the middle-income group teach the prejudices of the upper-income group to the children who are graded on how nearly they can conform to upper-income standards.

To be specific, Dr. Davis explains that an upper class standard approves of a talkative child whereas in a factory workers' neighborhood such a child is regarded as "a big mouth." In upper class families, little gentlemen don't fight. In the low income neighborhood a youngster must learn to fight effectively with his fists. Such a child is there regarded as a leader. Should he carry over his behavior (according to the standards of his neighborhood) to the school, the low-income child will probably come to grief.

Dr. Davis criticizes upper-class children as tense, easier to discipline, "apple-polishers" and harder workers. They get allowances from the age of four and thus acquire earlier training in arithmetic problems, training denied the poorer child. The latter, according to Dr. Davis, know the value of money but not the detached arithmetic of money.

Dr. Davis states that the children of the rich should not be discriminated against but the majority of the children who are not rich are entitled to consideration too. The talent of no American child should be wasted.

Miss Close of *The Survey* reports that scientific knowledge about child development can be applied effectively only by persons who have a real feeling for children.

Culture patterns are major forces affecting children's lives. Dr. Margaret Meade discussed this subject, stressing the great mobility of American life and its advantage—flexibility—and its disadvantage—loneliness.

Young people are confused by the conflicts between "equality before God" and discrimination, cooperation and competition, brotherly

love and war.

Discussions of mass media of communication dealt almost entirely with television, with emphasis on making the most educationally of this new medium and on more effective parental supervision.

A problem to which the Conference gave much thought was the effects on children and young people of the threat of war. Two ideas were stressed: protection from the hazards of war and facing the difficulties ahead.

The young people at the Conference stated that they and their friends felt confusion, fear, and a determination to do their part.

Dr. John R. Rees, World Federation of Mental Health, stated that the greatest problem war brings to children is separation from their families. He told of the basic strains on evacuated children in England during World War II.

Another topic to which the delegates gave their attention was the effects on children of economic forces influencing family income, housing and neighborhoods.

In commenting upon "Democracy in Process" at the Conference, Miss Close points out the teamwork among the professions. Educators, social workers, vocational counselors, pediatricians, psychiatrists, nurses, public health administrators worked together in preparatory committees, in the workshops, and on the panels.

The Conference's wide circle of citizen participation was representative of all racial and religious groups—Protestant, Catholic, Jew, White, Negro, American Indian, Japanese-American, Spanish-American.

"The states had been explicitly instructed to include in their delegations representatives of all groups of any considerable proportions in their populations. Only one, Georgia, had balked at forming an inter-racial delegation and the all-white group sent by Governor Talmadge had to be supplemented through special invitations issued to other Georgians, to give the state fairer representation."

There was also a large number of young people who constituted "youth participation."

In this same issue of *The Survey*, several pages beyond Miss Close's article, is a "Gist of the Recommendations," which is a condensa-

tion of the sixty-eight recommendations approved at the final session of the Conference.

NOTES

In the January, 1951, issue of *Social Science*, Nancy Barone, Assistant, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, explains a method for increasing people's tolerance for the beliefs of others.

Dr. Temple Burling, a psychiatrist and a member of the faculty of Cornell University, conducted a seminar in which each week a member of the group would be interviewed by the rest concerning his various experiences from early childhood to the present. Any information disclosed in the seminar was to be held confidential. Dr. Burling began the seminar by himself being questioned.

The students learned that people's beliefs are the result of childhood and later experiences and this knowledge made them more tolerant.

A booklet distributed in the Fall of 1950 but having a 1948 copyright date should not be overlooked because of the time lag between these two dates. *Leading American Statesmen to 1865* by John P. Dix presents some of the founders and statesmen of the Republic from Benjamin Franklin to Abraham Lincoln. Each man is related to the times in which he lived, and the reciprocal influence between the man and his environment is indicated.

Mr. Dix does not belong to the debunking school of history. Neither does he deify the founding fathers. Instead he is meticulously careful to show his subjects' good qualities as well as their faults. For example he shows that versatile Ben Franklin, a master of ingenuity and diplomacy, had his shortcomings. He was argumentative, opinionated and materialistic. Washington, the Father of his Country, was not a good mixer, held himself aloof and seldom laughed. National heroes are not perfect but in spite of their shortcomings they served their country well.

The author also draws the reader's attention to the similarity between a situation in the past and one in the present. For example, here is Franklin's comment upon Britain's refusal to accept the Albany Plan of Union:

"Those who govern, having much business on their hands, do not like to take the trouble of considering and carrying into

execution new projects. The best public measures are therefore seldom adopted from previous wisdom, but forced for the occasion."

Another example of this application of principles derived from the past and applied to the present is found in the author's comment on page 41 of the text:

"The Fathers of the American Republic and other forceful leaders and citizens did not drift with the current. They went up stream, if they considered it was good to do so. . . . If this action displeased a minority (a small conscientious, or selfish group) they went ahead and did what they considered best for the majority. Some people seem to think that this is dictatorship; others recognize it as leadership."

UNESCO BOOK COUPON PLAN

A news item appearing in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on January 26, 1951, announced that the Israeli government had signed a contract opening that country to the Care-Unesco book fund programs. Cash donations to this fund provide scientific and technical books for schools and research centers, and children's books for institutions.

The Book Coupon Plan was started in September 1948. One of its originators is Dr. Jacob Zuckerman, who is in charge of its operation.

The Book Coupon is a form of Unesco currency which looks like the old United States bills. Instead of some Government redeeming the bill, "Unesco promises to pay an authorized supplier, subject to agreed rules and conditions, the equivalent in the currency of his country—dollars of the United States of America at the official rate of exchange." (*New York Sunday Times*, Jan. 7, 1951, Section 6, p. 25)

This is how the Book Coupon works. Book Coupon No. 1 was bought by D. G. MacBean, a student at St. Andrews University at Fife, Scotland, to purchase a scientific work from the United States at a cost of \$2.50 (Unesco News Release No. 2—Jan. 13-14.) Mr. MacBean bought from Unesco's London branch a coupon covering the price of the book plus postage. He mailed this coupon directly to the American Booksellers Association which handles the book-coupon program for Unesco in the United States. The American Booksellers Association

sent the order to the publisher who then mailed the book to Mr. MacBean. In this transaction no currency had to be converted and no money sent through the mails. Unesco redeemed the coupons with dollars from its reserve of hard currency, set aside for this purpose.

The service provided by the American Booksellers Association was undertaken by it under an agreement that the program would be non-profit and not censored. The Association has set up a separate corporation to handle this work at 724 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

This arrangement permits greatly needed books—especially texts and medical books—to move across borders which, before this scheme was devised, were closed by foreign exchange controls. It allows books and films from “hard currency” countries to get through the currency barrier into “soft currency” countries without the latter’s using their hard currency reserves.

The chief significance of the Book Coupon system is that it is helping the free interchange of ideas among nations.

In order to increase its hard-currency reserves and to permit expansion of the Book Coupon System, Unesco has devised a plan under which libraries in hard-currency countries, such as the Library of Congress, might purchase books from soft currency nations by means of the Coupon System.

Unesco also issues a Gift Stamp which can be used to provide educational supplies and equipment to countries where specific reconstruction projects have been undertaken by national voluntary organizations in consultation with the Committee on Educational Reconstruction of the U. S. National Commission for Unesco.

The United States Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D.C., has requested that the following be published:

The United States Civil Service Commission has announced examinations for Intelligence Research Specialist, Military Intelligence Research Specialist, and Foreign Affairs Officer to fill positions paying from \$3,825 to \$6,400 a year in various Federal agencies in Washington, D. C., and vicinity. The majority of the positions are in the Departments of Defense, Army, Navy, Air Forces and State.

No written test will be given. To qualify for these positions, applicants must have completed appropriate education or have had pertinent experience in the field of work for which they apply. They may also qualify on the basis of a combination of such education and experience. A knowledge of one or more foreign countries or geographic areas is also required.

Information and application forms may be obtained from most first- or second class post offices, from civil service regional offices, or from the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D. C. Applications for these positions will be accepted by the Commission’s Washington office until further notice.

PAN AMERICAN UNION PUBLICATIONS

The Pan American Union offers at 25 cents each 19 kits for the study of individual Latin American countries, as well as four of a general nature: *The Organization of American States and the Pan-American Union*, *Introduction to Latin America*, *Foods and Flowers of the Americas*, and *Christmas in Latin America*.

It also offers a Club and Study Fine Arts Series, consisting of an illustrated monograph on *The Music of Latin America*, an illustrated anthology on *Art in Latin America*, and a compilation of translations of prose and poetry, entitled *Literature in Latin America*. The price is 50 cents each.

It is believed that this material will be useful and enjoyable to schools as well as to clubs. The Correspondence Section of the Pan American Union will gladly give assistance in preparing club programs.

Please note that items marked* may be bought separately for \$.10. They are issued in the American Nations Series, The American Capitals Series, the Commodities Series, or the Young Readers’ Series of the Pan American Union. Items marked** may be bought separately for 15 cents; they are in the Travel Series.

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Organization of American States (printed; illus.)

Chart of OAS

Charter

- OAS in Action (printed)
 Results of Bogota (planographed)
 Selections from recent addresses, by
 Alberto Lleras, Secretary General of
 the Organization of American States
 The Rio Treaty in Action, by Santiago
 Ortiz
 Pan American Activities since Bogota
 (1948-50) by Paul Kelbaugh
2. *Introduction to Latin America*
 *The Americas—A Panoramic View
 (printed; illus.)
 Latin America's Vast Resources Spur
 Broadening Developments (mimeo.)
 Williamsburg's Elder Sisters (Taxco,
 Antigua, Popayan, Ouro Preto) (plano-
 graphed; illus.)
 Reading lists
 A Highway of Understanding
 (processed)
3. *Foods and Flowers of the Americas*
 Plants America Gave the World
 (processed)
 The Turkey (processed)
 Adventures in Taste (mimeo.)
 Flowers Here and There (processed;
 illus.)
 Orchids to You (processed; illus.)
 Garden Notes from South America; Gar-
 dens of Mexico (processed; illus.)
 Sources of crafts and foods (list)
4. *Christmas in Latin America*
 Christmas in Latin America (printed:
 contains carols; illus.)
 Christ of the Andes (plano.; illus.)
 Keeping Christmas (mimeo.)
 An Old-fashioned Colombian Christ-
 mas in the Country
 Los Pastores in San Antonio
 Christmas Carols of the Americas
 (essay)
 The Flower That Symbolizes Christ-
 mas
 List of Latin American Songbooks
5. *Argentina*
 **Visit Argentina (printed; illus.)
 *Buenos Aires (printed; illus.)
 Sarmiento the Teacher (plano.; illus.)
 President Peron (mimeo.)
 Reading list
 Argentine flag (colored sheet)
6. *Bolivia*
 **Bolivia
 *La Paz
 More than ABC's (processed)
 Reading lists
 Flags and Coats of Arms of the American
 Republics
7. *Brazil*
 *Brazil
 Brasileiros (mimeo.)
 A Bond with Brazil (mimeo.)
 Stories of Four Coins (sol, cruzeiro,
 lempira, and quetzal) (plano.; illus.)
 St. John's Day in Brazil (mimeo.)
 Reading lists
 Brazilian flag (colored sheet)
8. *Chile*
 *Chile
 Gabriela Mistral (plano.; illus.)
 Frontier Stories of Southern Chile
 (plano.; illus.)
 Reading list
 Flag color sheet
9. *Colombia*
 *Colombia
 *Bogota
 Museum of Gold (plano.; illus.)
 Williamsburg's Elder Sisters (Popayan,
 Ouro Preto, Taxco, Antigua) (plano.;
 illus.)
 Reading list
 Flag color sheet
10. *Costa Rica*
 *Costa Rica
 *San Jose
 Don Joaquin
 Reading list
 Flag color sheet
11. *Cuba*
 *Cuba
 *Habana
 A Naturalist in Cuba (mimeo.)
 Cuba—Its National Hero and Its Flag
 (mimeo.)
 Reading list
 Flag color sheet
12. *Dominican Republic and Haiti*
 *Haiti
 Toussaint L'Ouverture (mimeo.)
 Haiti's Writers Find the People (mimeo.)
 Columbus in Hispaniola (mimeo.)

- Dominican Republic (Bulletins of Dominican Embassy)
Reading list
Flag sheets
13. *Ecuador*
*Ecuador
Quito and Its Colonial Art (plano.; illus.)
Two Journeys in Ecuador (mimeo.)
Espejo, national hero (mimeo.)
Reading list
Flag color sheet
14. *El Salvador*
*El Salvador
**Visit El Salvador
Trees in El Salvador (plano.)
Reading list
Flag color list
15. *Guatemala*
*Guatemala
*Guatemala City
Pilgrims' progress in Guatemala (processed; illus.)
Stories of Four Coins
Reading list
Flag color sheet
16. *Honduras*
*Honduras
*Tegucigalpa
Honduran Hands (mimeo.)
Stories of Four Coins
Reading list
Flag color sheet
17. *Mexico*
*Mexico
Bueno! A Little Word of International Import (mimeo.)
Tabasco's Way Out (mimeo.)
Morning in Oaxaca; Manana in Mexico (mimeo.)
Two Mexicans in Unesco: Jaime Torees Bodet, Paula Alegria (mimeo.)
Reading list
Flag color sheet
18. *Nicaragua*
*Managua
**Visit Nicaragua
Agriculture in Nicaragua (Agri. Series)
Reading list
Flag color sheet
19. *Panama*
*Panama
**Panama City
- See All of Panama (processed; illus.)
Reading list
Flag color sheet
20. *Paraguay*
*Paraguay
Auarani Spoken Here (processed)
*Yerba Mate
Mennonites in Paraguay (mimeo.)
Naduti: Paraguayan Lace (mimeo.; illus.)
Crafts and Foods of Latin America (list of sources)
Reading list
Flag color sheet
21. *Peru*
*Peru
Sentimental Journey in Peru (mimeo.)
Scipa Mean Food (mimeo.)
Stories of Four Coins
Reading list
Flag color sheet
22. *Uruguay*
*Uruguay
An Uruguayan Portia (mimeo.)
Accent on Youth in Uruguay (mimeo.; illus.)
Juana Pereyra (processed; portrait)
Paintings by Pedro Figari (processed; illus.)
Uruguay on Stage (processed; illus.)
Reading list
Flag color sheet
23. *Venezuela*
*Venezuela
Caracas
Hear the People Sing (plano.; illus.)
Memorandum on life in Venezuela
Reading list
Flag color sheet
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Washington 6, D. C.
MIDDLE STATES COUNCIL
Robert H. Reid, President, Middle States Council for the Social Studies, has announced that the forty-seventh annual spring meeting

of the Council will be held in Washington, D. C., Friday and Saturday, April 20 and 21, 1951. Headquarters will be at American University.

The theme of the conference is "Shaping Foreign Policy." Opening sessions will be held at the Department of State and will feature a briefing on the work of the Department of State. Major speakers will treat "How U. S. Foreign Policy is Made," "The Teacher's Role in World Affairs," and "The Individual's Re-

sponsibility."

Discussion groups will consider the role of foreign embassies, the future of the United Nations, and the part played by mass communications in U. S. foreign policy. An informal reception, exhibits, displays and tours will highlight the meetings.

For further information, write Robert H. Reid, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

Our Children and Our Schools; A Picture and Analysis of How Today's Public School Teachers Are Meeting the Challenge of New Knowledge and New Cultural Needs. By Lucy Sprague Mitchell. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950. Pp. xxviii, 510. \$4.00.

Few Americans would question the accuracy of such statements as: These are troubled and uncertain times; We are moving into a new and largely uncharted era; Our schools must adapt both methods and content to meet this challenge of uncertainty. Yet, in spite of such agreement, few schools are in a position to face this challenge with both confidence and competence. One reason is because, as Mr. Bristow has pointed out in the foreword to the present volume, "Many public schools have undertaken programs of improvement," but "only a few have had the resources to document the processes by which reorientation and improvement were achieved."

In this volume the Chairman of the Bank Street Schools records the significant results of her staff's experience in co-operation with the New York City Board of Education. They were attempting to answer the question "How can modern methods in education be made to apply effectively in large city schools?" The volume is organized into four sections: What Our Schools Are Leaving: Moving Toward; Our Public Schools in Action: Stages of Workshop Growth; Broad Learnings and Implications of Workshop Experience; and What Next?

Parents, school-folk and laymen who would like to find concrete information as to how schools can be improved so that they will prepare people to meet the challenge of our genera-

tion, will be rewarded by reading this book. Mrs. Mitchell has written one of the important books of the decade.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State University of New York
Cortland State Teachers College

Constitutional Government and Democracy. By Carl J. Friedrich. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1950. Pp. 688. \$5.75.

The fourth edition of Professor Friedrich's valuable text-treatise on political science and governmental organization includes a number of major revisions. It is also enriched by the author's observations and experiences derived from official governmental assignments following the appearance of the 1946 edition.

The arrangement of chapters has been modified and several have been renamed. A new addition is a noteworthy presentation of "local self-government and grass-roots democracy." Another timely addition is the chapter on "socialization and planning." The concluding chapter of the earlier edition on the scope and methods of political science has been omitted from the present volume. In its place is a revised discussion of constitutional dictatorship combined with a generalized, yet suggestive, presentation of the subject of military government.

Frequently the earlier discussions have been made more compact, leaving room, of course, for illustrations and examples from recent developments in political science. Chapter bibliographies have also been revised, not just for the sake of including new materials but to increase the references to significant available

publications. The actual physical make-up of the book has been greatly improved with a large, clear type-style and more striking section headings.

At a time when democratic government faces its greatest challenge it is useful to have this reasoned and searching presentation of the development, organization, and operation of constitutional governments. The volume was designed to meet the needs of an introductory college course in political science, but it is a convenient summary and reference that should be included in all social studies libraries.

WILLIAM G. TYRRELL

Columbia University
New York City

Criminology, A Cultural Interpretation. Revised edition. By Donald R. Taft. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. Pp. xiv, 704. \$5.50.

The first edition of this text which appeared eight years ago differed from most others in the field in its consistently sociological approach. This new revision is even more thoroughgoing in its sociological and cultural emphasis. Formally, it could be characterized as sociologicistic, positivistic and deterministic in its treatment of the problems of the causation, the cure, and the prevention of crime.

The sociological explanation of crime which is stressed by the author "... is concerned with the effects of group life, social attitude, and group patterns of behavior, as well as the influence of social status, of the role the individual plays and his conceptions of it, and of various other types of social situations and relationships." In another connection he states that the struggle for status constitutes "perhaps our major cause of crime."

It is his major contention that crime is a pervasive and persisting element of our society and its culture. This insistence that crime is an integral part of the organization of our society leads him to believe that he differs from such authorities as E. H. Sutherland who finds the roots of crime in social disorganization. However, the difference is principally verbal rather than real. He states "... that a culture which is dynamic, complex, materialistic, with inconsistencies between precept and practice, with tendency to rate members in accordance

with their group membership rather than their individual qualities, etc., a culture which produces slums, breathes the gang spirit, exploits the disadvantaged classes, represses wholly compelling drives, and tolerates behavior in economic and political fields approximating that which it also punishes as crime ... such culture ... would seem liable to produce much crime," and, we would add, such a culture would be characteristic of a *disorganized*, rather than of an *organized* society.

His insistence upon an uncompromising positivism and determinism evidenced by his continual reiteration of the phrase "The criminal is a product" leads him to be highly critical of any programs involving punishment, and even for that matter, of measures for the treatment or rehabilitation of the criminal, or of the prevention of crime, which are based upon the notion that the criminal is responsible for his antisocial behavior. Consistent with his sociological position, he is inclined to favor those techniques of prevention or of rehabilitation which utilize the natural group loyalties and relationships of the individual. Yet, his positivism and his cultural realism tend to make him dubious of the effectiveness of any approach to the prevention of crime short of the complete reorganization of our society and the reorientation of its basic norms and values.

Curiously, his extensive description of our Federal penal system is uncritical and laudatory. It is viewed as possibly the best working example of "The New Penology." It might have been more illuminating had he measured the Federal system against his own specifications of a scientifically sound penal system.

It is understandable that the allocation of space to various topics should reflect the interests and the point of view of the author. Thus, certain subjects such as the newspaper and crime, alcohol and drug addiction, sex delinquency, the prison community as experienced by the convict, the delineation of the functions and techniques of the probation officer, and the general problem of the prevention of crime are treated rather thoroughly. Other writers have devoted more space than does Taft to gambling, political graft and corruption, courts and the police, and parole.

It seems almost gratuitous to add that this volume, like its predecessor, is characterized



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JERRY A. NEPRASH

Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Understanding Politics: A Practical Guide for Women. By Louise M. Young. New York: Pelligrini and Cudahy, Publishers. 1950. Pp. 330. \$3.50.

Having come into the political arena somewhat recently, women require special assistance in comprehending the "business of the state." Such, apparently, is the thought of the author as set forth in the sub-title and in various parts of the work. It is not only women, however, who need to achieve a better understanding of the political process. The majority of men might well furbish up their knowledge in this particular field. And they could not accomplish this end more pleasantly and expeditiously than by perusing the pages of the book now under review.

Women, the author thinks, have often aimed at the higher offices, overlooking their opportunities in local government.

Women ambitiously tried for national and state offices before they had accumulated a sufficient reservoir of political experience, as a group, to justify the attempt. The consequent defeat and discouragement tended to dry up the newly-discovered springs of participation at the local level. Many women who opposed, or had been indifferent to, suffrage were sustained in their conviction that politics was not a woman's game. (48-49)

One of the most interesting and informative chapters is entitled, "Politics in Action." Here the attention of the reader is directed to the fact that there is no constitutional provision for the establishment of political parties.

Concerning political parties, the author comments:

The game of winning the control of the government at the polls is a game for high stakes. The winner takes all. It is not strange, therefore, that the separate interests tend to crystallize around two poles in an effort to produce a majority. As Will Rogers said:

"There are only two parties—the 'outs' and the 'ins.' The 'ins.' devote much of their energy to staying in, while the 'outs' naturally concentrate on getting in." (135)

Many will be interested to know that forty-seven states now use the direct primary to bring about the nomination of candidates. Connecticut is the only state clinging entirely to the convention method of nomination. (156) Wisconsin, the author indicates, passed the first direct primary law in 1903. (159)

The book is divided into two parts. Part II begins with a chapter entitled, "The Language of Politics." This is an exercise in Semantics, with such terms defined as Australian ballot, bandwagon, caucus, Dixiecrat, Gerrymander, Mugwump, and Tammany Hall.

The second chapter of this section is labeled, "Madame Chairman." Here parliamentary procedure is explained.

The following chapter, "Bird's-Eye View of the Political Map," gives particulars regarding population distribution, votes and voters, counties, Congressional districts, and legislatures.

"Women in Congress" is a chapter heading, which, as might be supposed, gives the names of all women who have served, or are now serving, in Congress. The first name listed is that of Miss Jeannette Rankin of Montana, who served from 1917 to 1919.

The fifth chapter in Part II gives the names of 217 women serving in state legislatures during the year 1949. Of this number, 91 are Democrats and 126 are Republicans.

The author does not overlook the political career of Mrs. Dorothy McCullough Lee, now mayor of Portland, Oregon.

With reference to this treatise, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is quoted thus: "I think this book will be useful to anyone starting on a public career, and of interest to all women."

Having the same volume in mind, Mrs. Charles E. Fleming of the National Board of the League of Women Voters of the United States writes: "... Fascinating reading. . . . It should be translated so that women abroad can be helped to understand what we mean by 'grass-roots' democracy."

The volume is, in reality, a compendium of information about our governmental forms and processes and might be read with profit by any intelligent person.

A selected reading list is given at the close of the book.

J. F. SANTEE

Education Department
University of Portland
Portland, Oregon

Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat. By Samuel Proctor. Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1950. Pp. xiv, 400. \$5.00.

This is a well written biography of a previously rather obscure Democratic politician of Duvall County, Florida, who became the spokesman of the rising liberal wing of his party in the gubernatorial campaign of 1904. During the next four years he secured the enactment of an extraordinary amount of progressive legislation, and became the courageous sponsor of much more, part of which became law during decades to follow, and some of which still awaits legislative endorsement.

The book is, however, conventionally political in content. It deals with the issues as they emerged in the clash of party factions, were formulated in the platforms of candidates and debated in the heat of electoral and legislative campaigns. But one seeks in vain for the underlying economic and social realities and for the structure, alignment and realignment of the various interest groups which provide dynamics of politics. Prior to his governorship, Broward's chief claim to fame rested upon his career as a munitions smuggler to the rebellious Cubans before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. Considerable space is devoted to the romantic aspects of these episodes, but not a line to their financial success. The role of the railroads which opposed Broward in his various campaigns is recounted in detail, but not that of the land speculators, water transport and other economic interests which supported him. His suppression of his plantation origin in his political autobiography and the resentment of his maiden sisters at the jeopardy to their social position by such identification with the "cracker" element is mentioned, but there is no analysis of the conflict of plantation and small farmer interests which played so large a role in his gubernatorial campaigns. One can calculate from Proctor's data that between

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Broward's successful campaigns for the governorship in 1904 and for the United States senatorship in 1910, the western counties supporting him declined by one-third while eastern and southern counties in his column trebled, but we are given no clue to this remarkable political realignment of economic and social groups, other than the blanket generalization that as "the Southern rebels lost their control over the agrarian vote they resorted to . . . Negro baiting, anti-Catholic crusades and anti-Semitism to regain their power."

Broward's most spectacular, if not his most constructive achievement was the initiation of the Everglades drainage project. As early as 1848 Buckingham Smith had prepared a report for the War Department acknowledging the feasibility of drainage. Broward's effective use of this document in securing favorable legislative action in 1905 is recorded, but there is no hint that the Smith report was the result less of technical data than of such pressures as state pride, manifest destiny, and the desire

of the slave-holding aristocracy to maintain its balance of power in the Senate by adding "a new, independent state . . . to the Union, formed out of east and south Florida, dissolving the unnatural connection now existing between them and middle and west Florida, sections totally dissimilar in pursuits, interests and habits from the former." (Smith Report). The governor's naive view that all one needed to know to undertake such a project is that "water will run down hill," is quoted, but there is no recognition of the wisdom of the calmer voices which favored reclamation but argued against too hasty drainage and advised that the project wait upon competent surveys. Such suggestions were dismissed by Broward with the mere statement, "I will be dead by that time," or were drowned out by his denunciations of his opponents as "in the pay of the railroads," in which he was enthusiastically joined by the land companies and real estate speculators who supported him. The result was an unsound and badly managed development under what Arthur

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E. Morgan has called "about the most primitive, unfair and inadequate of all the reclamation laws now in use in America." There was thus released a riot of greed, speculation and ignorance which imperiled the existence of one of the world's greatest areas of organic soils. The subtle balance of nature which had bound the Everglades into a vast, harmonious whole, was destroyed through over-drainage. The alternation of flood and drought through inadequate water control, the lowering of the fresh water table, salt intrusion from tidal waters and through the newly dessicated porous rock, and soil exhaustion through overuse, shrinkage and oxidation was reducing the region to "a vanishing Eden." Frequent forest and saw grass fires which sometimes ate their way through the rich organic muck down to bed rock and smoldered for months began to earn for it the sobriquet of "The Land of a Thousand Smokes."

Only during the past decade have measures been taken which Broward rejected—thorough studies of all aspects of the problem, geological, topographical, meteorological, ecological, chem-

ical, economic,—and extravagant claims and counterclaims been reduced to available facts under Federal auspices completely divorced from state politics and local opinions. These studies are providing the basis for an expensive attempt to restore to nature the more than fifty per cent of the region which is unproductive, and to establish a new ecological balance in the remainder of the region less than half of which is capable of intensive cultivation.

No biography which ignores such realities can be regarded as definitive.

HOWARD E. JENSEN

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Duke University

Readings for the Atomic Age. Edited by M. David Hoffman. New York: Globe Book Co., 1950. Pp. 125. \$2.80.

In response to David E. Lilienthal's appeal to the teachers of this country, "There is a need—a desperate need for the raw materials of atomic energy education," Dr. Hoffman has collected a number of writings ranging from

the literary contributions of men like Herman Hagedorn and Norman Corwin concerning the dramatic impact of the atomic bomb to the prophetic messages of such leaders as Norman Cousins, Robert M. Hutchins, and Albert Einstein. The development and construction of the atom bomb are covered in the two middle sections of the collection by articles and excerpts from the writings of men in the forefront of the Atomic Age, among whom are Bernard Baruch, Vannevar Bush, and Arthur Compton.

As aids to the high school student are illustrations, chiefly in the scientific articles, questions and suggested topics of discussion on each of the articles, a glossary of scientific terms used by the writers, and finally a list of "further readings" on each of the four parts of the collection.

The book, thoughtfully planned, should appeal, because of its modernity, to the maturer high school student who must see, even in this limited anthology, how the marvelous cooperation of scientists in the construction of the atom bomb, is affecting the literary and social thinking of this and of future ages.

SIDNEY FARBISH

Central High School
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The Land and People of Mexico. By Elsa Larralde. Price \$2.50.

The Land and People of Israel. By Gail Hoffman. Price \$2.50.

Outlines in American History, by Hyman M. Boodish, have now been prepared in pamphlet form by McKinley Publishing Company, 809 N. 19th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Price 50 cents.

ARTICLES

"The Problem of Reading Readiness in the Social Studies," by Alfred Gemmell. *SOCIAL STUDIES* XLI, (October, 1950), 252-256.

"How Good are American History Textbooks?" by Kenneth S. Cooper. *Social Education* XIV, (December, 1950), 341-343.

"Outlining the Current History Course," by Ruth Dunham Cortell. *The Civic Leader*, Volume XVIII, Number 8, (November 6, 1950.)

"Supplementary Readings on America's Past," by Ralph Adams Brown. *The Civic Leader*,

Volume XVIII, Number 10, (November 27, 1950.)

PAMPHLETS

Better Living Booklet Series: How To Live With Children; Let's Listen To Youth; High School Handbook; School Subjects and Jobs.

Science Research Associates, Publishers, 228 South Wabash Ave; Chicago 4, Illinois. Price per copy 40 cents.

Bulletin Number 6, Out of Work, by John Newton Thurber; *Seniority Rights for Supervisors?* by Rexford P. Kastner. *Bulletin Number 7*. Price 15 cents each.

New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

Policies and Controls in a War-Burdened Economy, by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C. Price \$.25.

Character and Citizenship Education: A syllabus for use in teacher training. By Vernon Jones. Price \$1.00. Write to the National Education Association. 1201 Sixteenth St., Washington, D. C.

U. S. A. Workbook, by J. Russell Cunningham and Lois J. Cunningham for use with *U. S. A.*, an American History by Harold U. Faulkner, Tyler Kepner and Victor E. Pitkin. Price \$1.20. Harper and Brothers, New York City, New York.

Selected Materials and Aids for Teaching about the United Nations. Compiled by Dr. Elwyn H. Odell. Ellensburg, Wash.: Central Washington College of Education, 1950.

A very comprehensive bibliography of reading and audio-visual materials available about the U. N.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Social Studies for Children in a Democracy. By John U. Michaelis. New York: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1950. Pp. xvi, 466. \$4.25.

This volume will prove valuable to teachers who wish to improve the social studies in the elementary school.

Our Standard of Living: First Course in Economics. By Charles H. Scherf. New York:

Globe Book Company, 1950. Pp. xviii, 536. A text that will appeal to pupils at the secondary level.

America's Role in World Affairs. By Emil Lengyel. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. Pp. xii, 380. \$1.50. Revised Edition.

A superior book to use in teaching the American way of life.

Social Economy and the Price System. By Raymond T. Bye. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. Pp. xi, 356. \$3.50.

A scholarly contribution to the field of Economics.

Australia and New Zealand. By William and Dorothy Irwin. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. Pp. xx, 312. \$1.80.

Origin of History as Metaphysic. By Marjorie L. Burke. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. vi, 61. \$2.75.

A critical examination of the notion that "history is progress."

Your Rugged Constitution. By Bruce and Esther Findlay. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1950. Pp. xiv, 281. \$3.00

This book presents the Constitution so that you can read it, understand it, and enjoy it.

Pressures on Congress. By Fred W. Riggs. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1950. Pp. xix, 260. \$3.75.

An interesting study of the methods used for the enactment of specific legislation.

The Idea of Development of the Soul in Medieval Jewish Philosophy. By Philip David Bookstaber. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Maurice Jacobs Incorporated, 1950. Pp. xi, 104. \$2.00.

A treatise on the reflections of Dr. Bookstaber on the subject of a meditative life.

Frontier Mother: The Letters of Gro Svendsen.

Translated and edited by Pauline Farset, and Theodore C. Blegen. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1950. Pp. vi, 153. \$2.50.

A vivid portrayal of pioneer immigrant life in America.

Crimes Against International Law. By Joseph B. Keenan and Brendan F. Brown. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950. Pp. x, 226. \$3.25.